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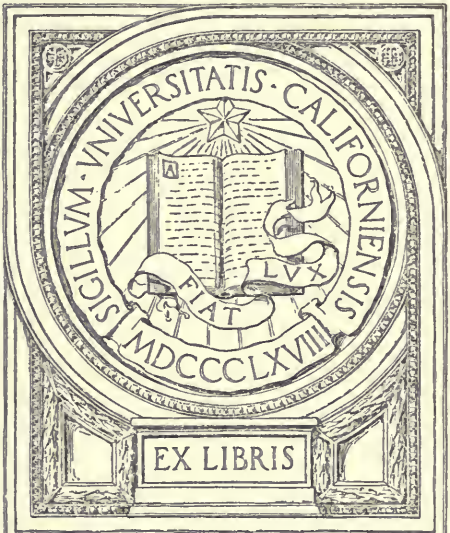

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A

COMPLETE INVESTIGATION

OF

Mr. EDEN's TREATY,

AS IT MAY AFFECT

THE COMMERCE, THE REVENUE,

OR

THE GENERAL POLICY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

[by Joseph Richardson]

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A

COMPLETE INVESTIGATION

OF

MR. EDEN'S TREATY.

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THE Treaty, which it is the object of theſe Remarks fairly and candidly to diſcuſs, will be readily allowed by every perſon at all intelligent in the Commercial or Political Syſtems of this country, to contain regulations at once new and important. Their novelty will be an excuſe for a jealous, though impartial inveſtigation; and the magnitude of their object will be a juſtification for the minuteneſs or elaboration of detail, in which an enquiry of this ſort demands to be involved.

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Some of the oldeſt habits which have prevailed in this country will receive a new direction by the operation of this Treaty; many of its uſeful ſuperſtitions will be ſhaken, and its moſt fixed principles ſubverted. It is not meant to be contended that the opinions of our anceſtors are infallible, or that innovation is always criminal: but this much will ſurely be acceded to us, That of all the ſubjects upon which the human judgement can poſſibly be exerciſed, there is none which ſo much demands that its principles ſhould be deduced from fact, and be ſanctioned by experience (in caſes, that is to ſay, like the preſent where fact and experience are practicable to be obtained) as commerce. It will at leaſt, therefore, be conſidered as a firſt preſumption againſt the wiſdom of a new ſcheme of commercial regulation, if it ſhould be found to militate not only againſt the traditional theories of our forefathers, for that would be of leſs conſequence, though not totally to be deſpiſed, but the ſettled habits of their practice. It will be held perhaps to be ſomething more than a mere preſumption againſt the prudence of ſuch an innovation, if it ſhould further appear that upon the obſervance of that particular principle, which it immediately tends

tends to deſtroy, has uniformly depended the wealth, induſtry, and commercial proſperity of the country.

It will be the object therefore of a few of the enſuing pages to demonſtrate this poſition from hiſtory, That in the proportion as the trade between England and France has been open or ſhut, have the intereſts of Engliſh commerce flouriſhed or declined.

It was not till the reign of the *Stuarts*, however unpropitious their principles threatened to be to the political or conſtitutional government of the country, that the commerce of England began to prevail to any conſiderable degree;—it flouriſhed under the diſturbances of theſe turbulent times, becauſe in the midſt of internal conflict and diſorder, many ſalutary regulations were made reſpecting it.—Amongſt theſe, a free trade with France was certainly not of the number; on the contrary, the ports of both countries were mutually ſhut to each other, and all commercial intercourſe was to the full as ſeverely interdicted as it remains at this day.

After the Reſtoration, when French manners, faſhions, and principles were introduced by Charles the Second, the idea of a trade with that country became the prevalent caprice of the day, and was encouraged with infinite zeal, by the profound aſſemblage of gay politicians that ſurrounded that prince. About the year 1675, however, the attention of the nation was ſeriouſly called to the ſtate of its commerce by a very remarkable circumſtance, which alarmed all the ſtateſmen in the country, and which is taken notice of by all the writers of that period, viz. a univerſal fall in the landed eſtates all over England. After an accurate inveſtigation into the cauſes of this event, one remarkable fact preſented itſelf to the obſervation of ſuch as had taken the pains of the enquiry, that the trade with France had grown to ſuch an extravagant extent in articles of mere luxury, and the balance of exports and imports ſo enormouſly againſt England, that the drain had become more than the nation was able to ſuſtain, and had proved the real ſource of the evil complained of, an evil which had not only operated a vaſt diminution of our commerce, but a moſt alarming danger to the more immediate and vital intereſt of the empire,

the Landed Property. Many able merchants drew up a ſtate of the trade between England and France, as it ſtood in the year 1674, which is ſtill to be found in the books of the Cuſtom-houſe, and which was prepared by order of the Commiſſioners for concluding a Treaty of Commerce with France.

They ſtate, that the value of all the goods exported to France from England amounted to	171,021	6	0
While the value of the imports from France amounted to the enormous ſum of	1,136,150	4	0
Balance againſt England	£. 965,128	18	0

Theſe Commiſſioners, who appear to have been men that underſtood the nature of the duty to which they had been delegated, and were determined to execute, with virtue and patriotiſm, the object of an appointment which they comprehended with perſpicuity and preciſion, conclude their report thus:

" By the above account, your Lordſhips will perceive that the linen and ſilk manufactures only, imported from France, amount

to

to upwards of eight hundred thouſand pounds; and the manufactures of wool and ſilk exported from England thither, do not amount to eighty-five thouſand pounds.—As alſo all other commodities of the product and manufactures of England exported into France, do not amount to ninety thouſand pounds more. Whereas the wines, brandies, and other commodities of the product and manufactures of France imported into England, amount to upwards of three hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, beſides an incredible value of toys, rich apparel, point lace, &c. So that it is apparent that the exports of our native commodities and manufactures to France, are leſs in value by at leaſt one million of pounds ſterling, than the native commodities and manufactures of France, which we receive from them."—*Com. Jour.* vol. 17, p. 423.

Notwithſtanding, however, the above alarming repreſentation, yet ſuch was the King's determined partiality towards France, to uſe a phraſe, certainly not the moſt deſcriptive of the fact, but the leaſt offenſive to the delicacy, which is by ſome conceived to belong to the diſcuſſion of the regal character, that a Treaty of Commerce was concluded between that country

country and England, which ſo far from turning out to the advantage of the latter, only tended to increaſe the evils already complained of. *Anderſon*, in his valuable Hiſtory of Commerce, ſtates, that the balance againſt England in its trade with France, increaſed to the amount of 1,330,000l. excluſive of 600,000l. annually run, or ſmuggled in upon us.

Imports from France,	—	1,500,000
Exports, —	—	170,000
	£.	1,330,000

"And thus," ſays he, "all our grave laws againſt the exportation of ſpecie, when the balance of trade is againſt us, is but hedging in the cuckow."

Luckily for the pride of England, the parliament and the people did not entirely ſympathize in the devotion of their monarch.—They had no motive for reſiſting the influence of facts;—they beheld with a natural alarm, the dangers to which they were expoſed, and urged their ſenſe of it with a commendable vehemence;

vehemence; the voice of the multitude when exerciſed on the ſide of truth, is not to be oppoſed for ever. Accordingly, in the enſuing year, after the ratification of the Treaty, namely in 1678, we find the Commons uniting in the general ſenſe of the public. They came to a vote declaring, "the trade with France detrimental to the kingdom;" and ſoon after an act was paſſed, expreſsly prohibitory of the trade with France, to which was prefixed the following preamble:

"Foraſmuch as it hath been by long experience found that the importing French wines, brandy, linen, ſilks, ſalts, and paper, and other commodities of the growth, product, or manufactures of the territories and dominions of the French king, hath much exhauſted the treaſure of this nation, leſſened the value of the native commodities, and manufactures thereof, and cauſed great detriment to this kingdom in general."—

That this ſpirited interpoſition on the part of the parliament, ſo directly in hoſtility with all the views and wiſhes of the court, was not made before the circumſtances of the country made it indiſpenſibly neceſſary,

is

is eaſily deducible from the concurrent teſtimony of all the co-temporary writers. I ſhall content myſelf with *Anderſon's* comment upon this reprobated intercourſe with France, who relates the reſult of it in this ſhort but emphatical deſcription :

" THE FOREIGN TRADE OF ENG-
" LAND LANGUISHED, AND THE
" RENTS FELL."

From the period of the prohibition, which has been juſt mentioned, our trade again revived, and that not by the ſlow operation of time and gradual improvement, but rapidly and at once. The balance became again in our favour, and ſo continued, with a triumphant ſucceſs, equally beneficial to the country, and inſulting to the corrupt inclinations of the court, till the year 1685, the beginning of the reign of James the IId. who again determined to renew the whole train of experienced miſchiefs conſequent on an open trade with France. In this inauſpicious year, the prohibition of 1677 was repealed, and the commerce between the countries was again laid open. It is not the purpoſe of theſe Remarks to comment upon the inducements which pre-

 vailed

vailed with James the IId. to reſume this pernicious policy. It is ſufficient to relate the fact, and to repeat again the ſame tale of an inſtantaneous influx of evils proceeding from it. The meaſure was no ſooner adopted than the French commerce advanced, as if by enchantment, to a magnitude ſuperior even to what it had ever attained at any other period of ſimilar indulgence. France had begun by this time to be conſcious of the advantages of her own ſituation, and of the immenſe obligations which ſhe owed to nature. The miniſter of Louis had not been inattentive to the cultivation of them. This policy co-operated with the imprudence of the government of this country, in making the laſt advance of her commerce not only ſomewhat more ſudden, but more extenſive than any other progreſſion which it had ever before experienced. The very firſt year after the trade was opened, as appears by accounts laid before the Houſe of Commons, the imports entered at the Cuſtom-houſe amounted to the enormous ſum of - - £. 1,284,419 10 3

Goods clandeſtinely imported, - - 428,139 17 9

1,712,559 7 0

While the exports amounted only to the ſum of	515,228	14	3
Loſs to England -	1,197,330	12	9

At a medium of three years, the importation from France amounted to the ſum of 1,460,000l. excluſive of wine and brandy. Fortunately, for this country, as well for its commerce as for its internal policy, this fatal ſyſtem ended with all the other projects of James the IId. and the ſame year which reſtored freedom to the conſtitution by ſeating William the III. upon the throne, gave new life to commerce by a renovation of the prohibitions upon the import of French goods. And indeed moſt highly neceſſary had it become that the old and beneficial ſyſtem of the country ſhould be reverted to, for our rivals had ſpared no exertion of art or induſtry to maintain that ſuperiority which their climate, the cheapneſs of their labour, and the plenty of their raw materials gave them. Councils of Commerce, conſiſting of the moſt experienced traders, were formed in every part of France, and every encouragement which experience could ſuggeſt, or power could give effect to,

was preſented to the manufacturers. It is to theſe inſtitutions co-operating with their natural advantages, that one of our moſt intelligent authors aſcribes, " the almoſt ſurpriſing encreaſe of the commerce, woollen manufactures, mercantile ſhipping, and foreign colonies of France."

The commerce between the two countries remained in this ſtate of reciprocal prohibition till the year 1713, when in the adjuſtment of a treaty of peace at Utrecht, conducted under the direction of that able miniſter, Monſ. *de Torcy*, a new attempt was made to introduce the favourite ſyſtem of France, an open trade with England. This experiment paſſed upon the ignorance of the Engliſh negociator, but was not equally ſucceſsful with the parliament and the people.

The reader will not complain of the length of the above narrative, when he reflects upon the importance of its tendency. It proves beyond all power of contradiction, becauſe upon the baſis of actual hiſtory, and the authority of official documents, the conſtant alternations of ſucceſs or ruin to our commerce, as the trade of France was ſhut or open. Till a better criterion can be inſtituted for determining

mining upon the probability of the *future*, than a reference to the *paſt*, it will not be denied, that ſome uſe is to be derived from ſuch a review as that which has juſt been taken.

In reply to this narrative, if it ſhould be ſuggeſted, that the avenues to a reciprocal commerce between the two countries may be ſaid to have been opened by the treaty of Utrecht, which was never *in toto* annulled, let it be remembered that, though the whole of that treaty was never entirely abrogated, yet that the commercial part of it never had any exiſtence at all.

That, the general body of the inhabitants of this country were content with the refuſal given by the Houſe of Commons to the admiſſion of the 8th and 9th articles of the treaty, and having triumphed in the rejection of the parts principally objectionable, were leſs anxious to purſue it, through its leſs offenſive detail.

That from the intervention of long and bitter hoſtilities between the two countries, and by the neglect of the legiſlature of Great Britain to paſs ſuch laws as were neceſſary for giving entire effect to ſeveral ſtipulations of the treaty, it has been ſeldom acted upon, and in conduct often directly contravened.

Let

Let it be remembered alſo, that it is one thing to ſuffer the dead letter of a treaty to remain, of which the country might avail itſelf in caſes of particular exigency, and another to revive its efficient operation, and to extend its ſpirit.

But above all let it not be forgotten, that many of the points which will be found to contain the moſt ſubſtantial grounds both of alarming novelty, and direct and evident injury in the preſent treaty, had no exiſtence at all in its preſumed prototype, the treaty of Utrecht.*

That under the treaty of Utrecht there was a direct and expreſs prohibition by ſtatute

* By the treaty of Utrecht the tariff of 1664 was to be eſtabliſhed as the tariff, payable upon Engliſh goods going to France, except in ſo far as related to certain goods which were to pay the tariff of 1699.

But when French goods came to this country, England was only obliged to repeal ſuch prohibitions or high dutiesas were peculiarly laid upon French goods, poſterior to the year 1664.

Therefore all goods prohibited prior to that period, continued to be ſo under the treaty of Utrecht.

France inſiſted, that a tariff ſhould be made in England ſimilar to that of 1664 in France, by which the duties

tute againſt the importation of French woollens into this country.

The

duties and prohibitions ſhould have been reciprocal in the two countries. Lord Bolingbrooke treated the idea of a reciprocal tariff with diſdain. Vide, Report of the Committee of Secreſy, p. 27.

Woollen goods of all ſorts, harneſs and ſadlery, hardware, and cutlery are prohibited to be imported by acts paſſed, 12th Edw. III.—4th Edw. IV.—1ſt Rich. III.—5th Eliz.—1ſt Cha. I.—16th Cha. I.——All theſe muſt be repealed under the preſent treaty, and would all have continued in force under the treaty of Utrecht.

By the tariff 1664, theſe articles paid upon their entry into France the following duties :

	Liv.	s.	
Hardware of copper, -	6	0	per Cwt.
Hardware of iron, -	1	12	
All ſorts of cutlery, turnery, &c. comprehended in French under the name of mercerie, -	4	0	

Sadlery and harneſs 5 per cent. ad valorem.

The tariff 1664 in France was calculated upon a principle of 5 per cent. being the amount of the duty upon every article contained in it. Mr. Eden's tariff is above double in every inſtance.

Even the excepted ſpecies, broad cloth, by the tariff 1699, would have had to pay only 55 livres per piece of 25 aunes in length by 5 quarters wide.—

The

That Engliſh woollens might have been imported into France at a duty of $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The French aune is $46\frac{2}{7}$ inches Engliſh, which makes the length of the piece 32 yards $3\frac{4}{7}$ inches, and the breadth $57\frac{2}{4}$.

This makes the piece equal nearly to a piece of Engliſh broad cloth of $30\frac{1}{2}$ yards long, which at 17s. a yard, is per piece 25l. 10s. 0d.

And valuing the livre at one ſhilling, its value at the ſigning the treaty of Utrecht, the duty upon broad cloth would not have amounted to above $10\frac{6}{8}$ per Cent.

As the French coin has undergone a variety of alterations, it may be for the information of the reader to ſubjoin a ſtate of its value at different periods.

	Liv.	S.
In the year 1668 the mark of ſilver was valued at - -	26	0
Colbert altered it to - -	28	0
In the year 1709 it was valued at -	40	0
In September, 1713, it was again reduced to	28	0
Between September, 1713, and Auguſt, 1715, the French coin changed its value eleven times, varying between 28 and 40 livres.		
In Jan. 1716 the value of the coin was fixed at	40	0
In the year 1730 the mark was valued at	49	0
At preſent it is valued at - -	48	9

Sir James Stewart informs us, that the mark is nearly equal to 40 of our ſhillings.

	s.	d.
The livre was therefore, in the year 1668, worth of our money, -	1	$6\frac{3}{13}$
Colbert altered its value to -	1	$5\frac{3}{14}$
In the year 1709, and at the time of ſigning the treaty of Utrecht, 11th of April, 1713, it was worth -	1	0

per cent. which is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ leſs than the duty under the preſent treaty, when the terms of the importation are reciprocal.

That the duty upon French Brandy was more than twelve times the amount of the internal duty then impoſed upon our own Diſtilleries, whereas it is now little more than in the proportion of three to one.

That the Rum trade from our Weſt India iſlands, which now produces a duty to this country of upwards of 400,000l. was then comparatively nothing, and preſented therefore neither a ſource of eſſential defalcation to the revenue, nor of deep injury to individuals.

That French ſubjects were not only not permitted by that treaty to convert themſelves into citizens of Britain by the mere act of paſſage, and to come into a participation of all the privileges conferred by the ſanction of chartered rights, but were expreſsly prohibited ſo to do.

That the Hardware and Cutlery of France were poſitively prohibited coming into this country, while ours were importable there on a duty of one livre, 12 ſous per cwt. whereas the preſent duty is 10 pounds *per cent. ad valorem*, even though the importation is mutual.

That Harneſs, and every article of Hoſiery and Sadlery might have gone from England to France, paying only a duty of 5 *per cent.* while their importation of ſimilar articles ſtood directly and poſitively forbidden with England.

That by the treaty of Utrecht, the French engaged to aboliſh the farm of tobacco; or in other words, to give to our colonies the monopoly of their market; an immenſe advantage, for which, by this latter treaty, we have received no equivalent, nor ſeemed to expect a compenſation.

That by the former treaty, cottons might have been ſent to this country, upon a duty of 5 *per cent.* while it reſted with us to put what duty we pleaſed on the importation of French cottons; whereas the importation duty is now 12 *per cent. ad valorem*, and the right reciprocal. That neither the letter nor the ſpirit of the Navigation act were at all infringed. And that the injurious diſtinction in favour of France, known by the name of *Droit d'Aubaine*, was ſpecifically and unambiguouſly abrogated. Such are the differences between the two treaties, and ſuch the increaſed motives for alarm that belong to that executed under the prudent auſpices of Mr.

Eden. —— Under the circumſtances, then, which accompanied the original introduction of the treaty of Utrecht, and which have followed upon it ſubſequently it will appear. That it can with no juſtice be conſidered as containing any proof of the ſuſpenſion of that ſettled and preſcriptive abhorrence which the inhabitants of this country have entertained with reſpect to an open trade with France.—But if the inſtance were permitted to have an operation beyond what it can fairly claim, and what is only allowed it here for the ſake of argument, it could only prove a diſpoſition on the part of the Engliſh for *ſuch a degree* of intercourſe with the French as was permitted under the terms of that treaty, and could with no propriety be adduced as a ſanction for the ſo much more enlarged, expanded, *liberal* amity of communication, which is extended to them under the influence of Mr. Eden's new ſyſtem.

Was it weak ſuperſtition, or correct and well conſidered policy, that prevailed with our anceſtors in this unremitting diſlike to too near a contact with the French?

What anſwer can be given to ſuch a queſtion, but a reference to the events which have

taken place under it.—The French have ſought for a century, with the exertion of every active and inſidious policy, to accompliſh this brotherly reciprocity of connection and friendſhip. The year 1787 will be the firſt period of their enjoyment of it.—Have they been urging this for ſo long a ſpace of time, and we declining it, with a mutual ignorance on both parties, they of their own good, and we of our own danger?—The fact is, nations ſeldom err long in points that reſpect their own immediate advantage. Caſual prejudice, or occaſional incapacity in their rulers may miſlead them for a time; but the regular influence of underſtanding and intereſt will prevail at laſt. That which has been anxiouſly deſired by one power, and as vehemently refuſed by the other, through a variety of changes of government and of circumſtances, which has been ſteadily purſued by every deſcription of miniſters in the one country, however repugnant in their general politics—and as uniformly reſiſted by every ſucceſſion of diſagreeing politicians in the other—is evidently to the advantage of the power which ſeeks, and to the injury of that which rejects: The uniform prevalence of ſuch a ſentiment, is the demonſtration of experience

perience delivered through the medium of the united ſenſe of both empires; and, if any thing can decide upon the direction of their reſpective intereſts, this muſt.

TARIFF.

I ſhall proceed now to the conſideration of that part of the treaty which is entirely commercial. The reader will be aware, that in the diſcuſſion of ſuch a ſubject, a good deal of detail is neceſſary and unavoidable. No ſtatement will be obtruded upon him here, which can be done without; but many it will be my indiſpenſible duty to ſubmit to him. Without theſe, he can neither know with any preciſion the extent and nature of the advantages which this country is repreſented as being likely to obtain from the preſent treaty, nor the degree of expence ſhe is to pay for them, if obtained at all.

One obvious idea muſt preſent itſelf to the moſt careleſs obſerver on this department of the ſubject, namely, that the Four firſt articles of the tariff contain ſtipulations in favour of France, for which the moſt remote appearance of a reciprocal advantage is not ſo much as pretended. They ſtipulate in theſe articles to reſerve to themſelves

themſelves the poſſeſſion of our market for their Wines, their Brandies, their Vinegars, and their oils, which are all the ſtaple produce of their own country, and in which, ſo far from having an equivalent advantage, we cannot have the moſt diſtant degree of competition. It would have been natural, in ſuch a ſituation, for the miniſter of this country to have inſiſted upon ſome ſpecific return, ſome permanent benefit, in compenſation for ſuch extraordinary conceſſions. The pretended principle of the treaty is reciprocity—how then is it, that, in the very commencement of it, we ſee no leſs than four diſtinct and capital advantages conferred, for which not only not an adequate return is made, but no return at all?

But it will be ſaid, perhaps, the counterbalance to theſe advantages is received by us in the remaining part of the Tariff.—No ſuch thing. —In every other part,—the Cottons, the Woollens, and every other article of trade, permitted by the treaty to be reciprocally imported, have the market of England opened to them upon the ſame terms on which the market of France is opened to the correſponding articles in England.—The ſuperior benefit to either country, therefore, in theſe points, muſt

depend

depend ſolely upon the advantages of their internal ſituation—ſuch as cheapneſs of labour, cheapneſs of living, comparative exemption from taxes, &c.

With reſpect to theſe Four firſt articles, however, this is by no means the caſe.—They not only contain advantages for which no equivalent has been granted, but which are, in their nature, certain and permanent. An increaſe of induſtry on the part of the French, their cheaper labour; combining with a freſh addition of burthen on the part of the Engliſh, or with other caſualties which it is impoſſible to foreſee, and which in all ages of the world have made manufactures and commerce ſhift from one country to another, may, in a few years, deprive England of every pretence to ſuperiority, which the ſanguine and the partial are ſo fond of imputing to her now.—Other nations may rival her in the French market, and the French may rival her in her own.—But the advantages granted to France in her wines, brandies, and oils, are in their nature expoſed to no inſtability either of caprice or competition:—they are the native produce of their land—they demand no ſkill in preparing

—and

—and it is not therefore within the reach of accident to deprive her of them.

Is it to be mentioned as an excuſe for theſe conceſſions in favour of France, that we have no article of native produce which we could have ſent into France, in return for thoſe of a ſimilar nature ſent here? This indeed is a fact; but it is no juſtification for the negociator of the peace, becauſe the reciprocity might have been obtained in another way.—He might have demanded ſome advantages to be extended to ſome particular branch of our manufactures.—He might have ſtipulated that our Hardware, or our Woollen, ſhould have gone into their market at ſuch a comparative inferiority of duty, as might have been thought ſufficient to cover the advantage gained by the encouragement given to her wines and brandies, and have made the general principle, at leaſt, if not the operation of the compact, reciprocal.

No man treated the pretended reciprocity of the Iriſh Propoſitions with more ridicule than Mr. Eden. When the Miniſter propoſed that Engliſh Linens ſhould be admitted into Ireland upon the ſame duty on which Iriſh Linens were admitted into England, and that the Woollens of both countries ſhould ſtand preciſely upon the ſame footing,

footing, the Negociator was loud in his reprobation of such a doctrine of Reciprocity.—England neither does nor can manufacture Linen in any degree of comparison with the Irish linens—Ireland can and does manufacture Woollens. It was therefore a Mockery of England to tell her, that she might carry her Linens (*which she could not make*) to Ireland free from duty, because the Irish imported their's on the same terms into England—but that Woollen, which England *can* manufacture, should be subject to a duty of 10 ½ *l. per cent.* because the Woollens of Ireland (which Ireland can also manufacture) were exposed to a like duty in England.

Mr. Eden contended, and contended unanswerably, that the only possible idea of equitable Reciprocity was this—that as England admitted the staple of Ireland free from duty, Ireland should admit the Staple of England upon the same terms.—What a misfortune it is that the Negociator had not recollected his own reasoning, in a case where the application of it was so much stronger, and the necessity for the use of it so much more pressing than in the instance of Ireland!—The staple productions of France are in future to be admitted into England, upon duties which will effectually

ſecure to her the monopoly of our market :— for a counterbalance to which advantage, ſo extenſive in its effect, ſo permanent in its duration, no one benefit of any kind is ſtipulated in favour of England.

But theſe indulgencies to France are not only to be cenſured in as much as they want fairneſs, or even as they affect the Revenue—there is another point of view in which they will appear to be equally reprehenſible.—The policy which has hitherto directed the Councils of this country, with regard to ſuch articles of conſumption as could not be produced at home, has been either to encourage the conſumption of ſimilar articles of her colonial produce, (as rum, in preference to Brandy) or to encourage the conſumption of the articles in queſtion, from that country, which, in return, either afforded us a Vent for our manufactured produce, or ſupplied us with Raw materials, for the employment of our internal induſtry.

It was upon this principle, that the duty has been kept high on French brandy and French wines.—It was upon this principle, that it was low upon the wines of Spain and Portugal.—Theſe two countries afford the principal mar-

ket

ket for our woollens, and the produce of our Newfoundland fishery; and, in return, they send us Wool, Cotton, Cochineal, Indigo, Barilla, and Dying Drugs.

In every national consideration, except partiality of taste, it is indifferent whether the wines of France, or of Spain or Portugal, be consumed in England.—But, if the Spaniard or Portuguese, in return for the preference given to his wine, takes his cloth from our manufacturer, and his food from our fisheries—if he sends us those articles without which our manufactures cannot subsist, and raw materials for the exercise of our national industry—there becomes a motive of sound and judicious policy for giving him our market, and for sacrificing an unimportant preference of taste, to the substantial consideration of a great public advantage.

To have a clear and comprehensive understanding, therefore, of all the consequences which may result from the indulgencies extended to France in the four first articles of the tariff, it will be necessary to take a review of the trade of this country with Portugal and Spain; and to examine, how far the Revenue, Com-

merce, or Policy of England, will be affected by the changes introduced into it by the new arrangement.

THE TRADE WITH PORTUGAL.

WINES.

The obvious and neceſſary effect of reducing the duty upon French wines, muſt be the entire loſs of the high duty upon all that quantity which is at preſent imported into this country. The quantity of French wine imported, upon an average of the four laſt years, as appears by an account laid before parliament by Mr. Pitt, on the introduction of his wine bill, amounts to 400 tons annually.

The preſent French duty is 96 *l.* 4 *s.* 1 *d.* which by the treaty is to be reduced to the duty now exiſting upon the wines of Portugal, that is, to 45 *l.* 19 *s.* 2 *d.*—or, in other words, the preſent French duty is to be lowered preciſely 50 *l.* 4 *s.* 11 *d.* *per* ton.

This ſum, multiplied by the average quantity imported, will yield no leſs an amount than 20,098 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* loſs of revenue, which

is the firſt defalcation ſuſtained by it under the operation of this treaty.

In every poſſible event this ſum muſt be loſt to the public, and will demand in ſome manner to be made good to the revenue.

If the quantity conſumed of the reſpective wines of each country ſhould remain preciſely the ſame, then it is demonſtrative, that the difference between the former and future duty upon the preſent quantity of French wines, 50l. 4s. 11d. per ton, upon four hundred tons, is entirely loſt.

If, as is evidently intended by the Treaty, the quantity of French wine conſumed here be encreaſed, ſtill, as it will in future pay only the Portugal duty, the ſame ſum is equally defalcated from the revenue.—In every alternative, therefore, this ſum is gone.

But by the eighth article of the treaty, England reſerves a power in favour of Portugal, of lowering the duty upon her wines to the proportion ſettled by the *Metheun* treaty; that is, to two thirds of that upon the wines of France, whatever it may be. If this power

ſhould

ſhould not be exerciſed, it is eaſy to perceive England muſt relinquiſh all hope of a commercial intercourſe with Portugal. The ſuperior pleaſantneſs and lightneſs of the French wines, the lowneſs of the freight, and, in many inſtances, the cheapneſs of the prime coſt of the article itſelf, will ſoon give a decided preference to the wines of France. In this event, the revenue would be a loſer to no greater extent than has been already mentioned. But the effects to the trade of the country would be truly alarming. We muſt prepare ourſelves to expect prohibitions in Portugal upon the importation of our woollens, and the produce of our fiſheries, and for the various other conſequences of ſo important a revolution, which, though equally certain, are not with equal facility to be aſcertained.

If, upon the other hand, this power ſhould be exerciſed, and the reſerved right of diminiſhed duty upon Portugal wines ſhould be actually carried into effect, then a new conſequence ariſes to the revenue. This, indeed, muſt vary in the proportion of the quantity of Portugal wine which ſhall continue to be conſumed in England. It is impoſſible to determine

mine at preſent, what the future changes in that conſumption may be. We know, however, what it is at this time, and upon the ſuppoſition that it ſhould remain the ſame, the following will be the loſs to the revenue.

The preſent duty upon the wines of Portugal is 45l. 19s. 2d. per ton. One-third of this, which, by the Methuen treaty, is the ſtipulated reduction below the French duty, is 15l. 6s. 4d. per ton.

The quantity of Port wine imported, amounted, upon an average of the four laſt years, when the importation was rather falling off than otherwiſe, to 10,538 tons annually.

This number of tons, multiplied by the ſum reduced upon each ton, that is, by 15l. 6s. 4d. will leave an amount of preciſely 161,404l. 18s. 2d. which, added to the 20,098l. 6s. 8d. above-mentioned, makes the whole loſs to the revenue upon this article of 181,503l. 4s. 10d.

It is hardly poſſible to ſuppoſe, under the preſent circumſtances of the country, that it can be deliberately the intention of the miniſter

nister to reduce the annual quantum of the public purse by such an immense sum as the above; the more so, when it is considered, that it arises from an article which is, of all others, the most proper object of taxation—a mere luxury. It is in candour, therefore, to be presumed, that the intended effects which are wished by the minister to be produced by the operation of the treaty, are the encouraging the consumption of French wines, and the producing a consequent diminution of the consumption of those of Portugal.

A variety of circumstances concur to make this latter supposition extremely probable.

The consumption of Portugal wines has been encouraged in this country by a much greater difference of duty than we were bound by treaty to grant them; for though the stipulated difference of duty between the French and Portugal wines is only one-third, yet in point of actual practice, the duty of the former has always been nearly double that of the latter. For example, in 1768, when the duty upon French wines was 66l. per ton, the duty upon Portugal wine, might,

under

under the terms of the treaty, have ſtood at 44l. per ton, yet it was in fact only 29l. and in later years, when the French duty was 96l. 4s. 1d. the duty upon Portugal wines, which might have been as high as 64l. per ton, was no more than 45l. 19s. 2d. This proportion of difference has continued ſince the beginning of the century, and could not but have a moſt powerful effect in encouraging the conſumption of Portugal wines.—How far a conſumption which required to be kept up by ſuch a difference of duty as 50l. per ton, will be protected by a difference only of 15l. 6s. 4d. is not eaſy to conceive. If it ſhould be concluded, which may be done under the *terms* of the preſent treaty, that what has been practiſed under the *Methuen* treaty may ſtill continue to prevail, and that the Portugal duties may be ſtill diminiſhed in the old proportion with reſpect to the wines of France, then let us ſee what will be the effect in that view of the ſubject to the Revenue. The future duty upon French wines is to be 45l. 19s. 2d. If the Portugal duties are to be regulated in the former proportion, that is, that they may be ſomething ſhort of being half, or, in other words, that they may be one-

third, and one-sixth, instead of being two-thirds of the French duty, then it will be fair to estimate the future duty upon Port at about 22l. per ton. This will evidently make a defalcation of one-sixth of the whole duty upon Portugal wine more to the revenue than was estimated in the former instance, (for then the defalcation was calculated on a reduction of one-third, and is now reckoned on the supposition of its being diminished one-sixth more) which will amount, upon the whole annual importation of Port wines, to the sum of 80,702l. 9s. 1d. and must be added to the other two sums I have already mentioned, to make up the whole of the annual loss sustained to the public by the operation of the treaty.

There are a great variety of pleasant and strong wines from the South of France, which have been hitherto prevented from making their way into England by the enormous duty which has been indiscriminately laid upon all the wines of that country. When 15l. per ton becomes the only difference of duty, will there not be great reason to expect, that they may be had in England much cheaper than the wines of Portugal?

Very excellent Languedoc wine, of a ſtrength nearly equal to Port, and of infinite variety in its colour and flavour, may be purchaſed upon the ſpot at 14l. per ton.

The prime coſt of a pipe of Port is about 17l. or 34l. per ton.

If we add the propoſed duties to theſe, the former will ſtill be conſiderably cheaper than the latter.

	£.	s.	d.
New French duty - -	45	19	2
Prime coſt per ton -	14	0	0
	59	19	2
New Portugal duty - -	30	12	10
Prime coſt per ton - -	34	0	0
	64	12	10
	59	19	2
Difference of price altogether - -	4	13	8

To which is ſtill farther to be added, the difference of freight and inſurance between Oporto and Bourdeaux, which is conſiderable*.

* The French are alſo improving their advantages, by aboliſhing certain internal duties, which their wines have hitherto paid.

It may however be argued, and has, indeed, been ſtrongly aſſerted, that the taſte of this country is ſo decidedly in favour of Port wine, that even the difference of 15l. per ton on the duty will be quite ſufficient to continue the importation of it in quantities nearly equal to what prevail at preſent.

This reaſoning neceſſarily admits a defalcation of the revenue, or a loſs of duty to the utmoſt extent of what has been above ſtated; *i. e.* of one-third of the preſent duty upon the whole quantity at preſent imported, together with the loſs upon the French duty, to the amount of 181,503l. *per annum*. But the principle is certainly contradictory, both to the ſuppoſition of the treaty itſelf, and alſo to ſuch facts as hiſtory furniſhes us with upon the ſubject.

The treaty clearly ſuppoſes the diminution of the duty upon the wines to be an advantage to France, by increaſing their exportation of that article. It would have been idle in *Her* to have aſked in *Us*, and us to have granted, a reduction of duty, if her exportations were not checqued by the high duty at preſent ſubſiſting upon them. As, however, our demand for wine is at preſent fully ſupplied, it is clear,

clear, that whatever increaſed quantity of wine we in future take from France, exactly in that proportion muſt we diminiſh our imports of the ſame commodities from other countries.

The ground and baſis, therefore, of the treaty is, that the French wine trade muſt encreaſe, and that of Portugal undergo a proportionable diminution.

I am enabled by a reſort to hiſtory to form a very tolerable eſtimate of the degree of reliance there is to be placed upon a ſuppoſed preference of national taſte in this country in Favour of the wines of Portugal.

The Journals of the Houſe of Commons furniſh us with an account of the importations of wine as they have ſtood at different periods, when the trade was open, when it was abſolutely prohibited, or when it was loaded with high duties; and from them it is demonſtrable, that national taſte changed exactly in the proportion as the commodity was dear or cheap.

Tons

From the year 1675 to the year 1678, the trade with France was open, and the importation of French wine, on an average, was - - - 8535

During

354616

Tons

During the same period, the average importation of Portugal wine was 116

From the year 1679 to the year 1685 inclusive, the trade with France was prohibited, and the annual importation of Portugal wine was 6880

From the year 1686 till the year 1695 inclusive, the trade with France was open, and the importation of French wine amounted annually to 13401

During the same period, the importation of Portugal wine amounted, on an average, to 433

And upon the trade with France being again, in King William's time, laid under prohibitory duties, the importation of French wine decreased to nearly the same quantity that has been, and is now annually imported *.

* Account of French and Portugal Wines imported during the first period.

	Fr. tons.	Port. tons.
1675	7495	20
1676	9645	83
1677	6789	176
1678	7212	199
	34142	573

Some account during the second period.

	Fr. tons.	Port. tons.
1679	3	1013
1680	1	1003
1681	—	1718
1682	—	13860
1683	—	16772
1684	—	11611
1685	—	12885
	4	55862

Some account during the third period.

	Fr. tons.	Port. tons.
1686	12670	286
1687	15518	327
1688	14218	448
1689	11109	579
	53605	1735

From

From these facts, joined to the supposition admitted and justified by the article of the treaty itself, I am led to concur in the opinion which evidently prevailed with the negociators of it, that the lowering the duties on Portugal wine one-third, will not prove, in any degree, a protection to the importers of them.

This, then, is the situation in which we stand, with respect to Portugal.—If the comparative consumption of the wines of that country and France remain exactly the same in Great Britain as it stands at present, the revenue will be injured to the amount of nearly 200,000l. *per annum*.

If, as is the much more probable alternative, the wines of France in their state of reduced duty, should drive the inferior ones of Portugal out of our market, the consequence will be the loss of the Portugal trade.

To this view of the subject I shall now proceed, and state such facts as may convince the public of its importance, and satisfy them how much we put to hazard by the probable effects of this indulgence to France.

The

The trade to Portugal has varied at different times, either as the Portugueſe ſucceeded in the encouragement of their own manufactures, or as we have been rivaled in their market by other nations. It conſiſts principally at preſent in the exports of woollens, ſalt fiſh, toys, watches, and other articles of luxury and convenience; to theſe were formerly added, conſiderable quantities of hardware; but this laſt article has of late much fallen off, owing to our being underſold in the Portugal market by the Flemiſh manufacture of that article. This fact, which in a great meaſure accounts for the ſuppoſed decay of the Portugal trade, was diſtinctly in evidence before the Houſe of Lords, by the oaths of ſeveral of the principal manufacturers, and particularly by that of the intelligent *Mr. Gibbons.*

The export to that country is ſtill of magnitude ſufficient to awaken the fears of every well-wiſher to his country, under the caſualty of its loſs.

By the accounts of the Inſpectors' Books the export of Great Britain to Portugal is now higher than it has been for ſome

ſome years. It amounted in the year 1785 to no leſs a ſum than 796,225l. of which, by much, the greater part was woollens.

But the inſpectors' books furniſh a much more fallacious account of the Portugal trade at preſent than they formerly did, when it is ſuppoſed to have been much higher than it now is.

Formerly the export to Portugal was principally carried on from the port of London; but the high port duties upon wine, and the high fees of every fort payable there, together with the circumſtance of the woollen manufacture changing its ſituation, and ſettling principally in Yorkſhire, has made the ports of Liverpool and Hull equal to that of London in this trade. However accurate the account of exports and imports from the port of London may be, nothing can be leſs ſo than the account which is kept at the out ports, where all the articles are thrown together, without care or accuracy, into one general head. Thus, while the inſpectors' books ſtate little more than 100,000l. as the account of our export to Portugal from all the out

ports, it is a notorious fact, that the town of Wakefield alone, ſends woollens to the amount of double the ſum, and that from eight to ten ſhips are cleared out from the port of Hull annually, which may be fairly reckoned worth from thirty to forty thouſand pounds each.—From theſe conſiderations it is apparent, that the Portugal trade is of infinitely more importance than is generally believed, and that the conceived decline of it ariſes only from the accident of its having changed its locality from the port of London to the out ports, where, as I have ſaid, the accounts are kept with much leſs preciſion and diſtinctneſs.

But even theſe facts will not ſhow the full extent of the benefit of the Portugal trade. If any article of export can be more beneficial to Britain than the export of her ſtaple, an article of the trade to Portugal, which appears in no cuſtom-houſe account whatſoever, is that one. I mean the produce of the fiſhery, which is carried on directly from Newfoundland to Portugal, and is to be found in none of the eſtimates of our exports and imports.

To those who are not accustomed to consider the infinite importance of our fisheries, the extent of this article must appear enormous, no less than 600,000 quintals of fish were, in the year 1784, sent in British vessels to foreign states from Newfoundland; and of this quantity about one-third went to Portugal.

An account of the price of a quintal of fish at Lisbon.

	s.	*d.*
Prime cost at Newfoundland -	10	0
Freight - - -	5	0
Insurance on cost, and freight at 3 *per cent.* - - -	0	5
Duty - - - -	3	9
Commission and charges -	1	0
	£1	0 2

Of this sum the whole is paid to British subjects, excepting only the single article of port duty. The prime cost and freight are the prices of the labour of our fishermen and sailors, and the commission and charges are paid to British factors at Lisbon. The port duty, therefore, being deducted from the ac-

count, will leave a ſum of 16 *s.* 5 *d.* which multiplied by the number of quintals, will make the whole amount of the produce of the fiſhery ſold to Portugal, 164,066 *l.* 13 *s.* 6 *d.* which, in conſidering the extent of the trade of that country, is to be added to every official repreſentation derived from cuſtom-houſe eſtimates.

With the addition, therefore, of this laſt branch of lucrative intercourſe with Portugal, the whole value of our exports cannot, with any propriety, be eſtimated at leſs than 1,200,000 *l. per annum*; while our imports from thence have rarely amounted, in the ſame time, to above 350,000 *l.* which leaves a balance of trade in our favour of 850,000 *l. per annum*, ariſing from the export of goods which afford encouragement to our ſtaple manufacture, and ſupplies a moſt powerful acceſſion to the ſtrength of our marine.

Except Wine, the only conſiderable article of our imports from Portugal is Cotton Wool, of a quality infinitely ſuperior to that of any other part of the world. Of this we laſt year imported two millions of pounds.

It

It is impoſſible to expect that when, by the operation of the French treaty, the Wines of France aſſume the place of thoſe of Portugal in the conſumption of Britain, the Portugueſe will continue to take from us any articles of our manufacture. French Woollens till lately laid under prohibitory duties. Will ſhe not have grounds for doing the ſame by thoſe of Britain?

By the wiſdom of the late treaty of peace which extended the fiſhery of France in Newfoundland, Portugal can be at no loſs to ſupply herſelf with that neceſſary article, ſhould ſhe lay high duties upon the Engliſh trade; and every intereſt ſhe has to indicate the leaſt preference to this country is at an end, the moment we have ceaſed to reciprocate benefits, by the rejection of her wines.

It is demonſtrative, therefore, that this is the choice of evils, in this caſe, out of which the miniſter is compelled to make his ſelection—He muſt either relinquiſh a revenue to the amount of 200,000 *l. per annum*, or place in the utmoſt hazard, if not inevitable certainty of deſtruction, a branch of annual export, to the amount of 1,200,000 *l.* in order to preſerve the revenue.

BRANDY.

TARIFF.

BRANDY.

We ſhall proceed now to another article of the tariff, upon which ſuch a reduction of duty is ſtipulated to be made in favour of France, as cannot fail, in its firſt and certain operation, moſt eſſentially to affect the revenue; and, by its conſequences, to produce a moſt alarming injury, not only to a very valuable and extenſive part of our colonial trade, but even (by the miſchief which it muſt extend to a moſt productive branch of internal manufacture) prove, in the end, in the higheſt degree injurious to the agriculture and Landed Intereſt of the Country.

The brandies of France, inſtead of nine ſhillings and ſixpence $\frac{12}{20}$, are in future to pay no more than ſeven ſhillings *per* gallon. Since the operation of the act of the twenty-ſecond of his preſent Majeſty, which equalized the cuſtom duty upon all foreign brandies, little elſe than French brandy has been imported into this country. The ſuperior quality, indeed, of the article itſelf, as well as the comparative advantage in the low price of freight from France, over any other competitor, would have given

given to that country the exclusive monopoly of the British market for her brandies, if no new encouragement had been extended to her by the operation of the present treaty*.

The quantity of brandy, upon an average of the two last years, which was imported and paid duty, amounted to 2857 tons, three hogsheads, two gallons—or 727,615 gallons.—Two shillings and sixpence, the sum taken from the present duty upon this quantity, will produce an immediate diminution of revenue to the amount of 90,981 *l.* 8 *s.* 6 *d.*

This loss of duty, it is very evident, can only be made good to the revenue by an immense encrease of the annual consumption of brandy, or by the imposition of a new tax upon some other article.

The quantity of brandy consumed in this country cannot be increased, without a consequent diminution in the consumption of rum and home-made spirits, or an immoderate increase in the use of spirituous liquors—an evil

* The Minister was so sensible of this, that when he, two years ago, lowered the duties upon rum, he left the high duties upon brandy.

which

which it has been, and ever muſt be, the conſtant object of a wiſe and virtuous legiſlature to prevent.

We will not ſuppoſe that the miniſters of this country mean to make good the loſs of revenue by the corruption of morals; or that they mean to bring back again thoſe times, when the legiſlature found it neceſſary to declare, as in the preamble to the act known by the name of the Gin Act, "That it was of the utmoſt im-"portance to the public welfare, that ſome "timely proviſion ſhould be made for prevent-"ing thoſe miſchiefs, which muſt unavoidably "enſue, ſhould ſpirituous liquors be again ſuf-"fered to be ſold at a low rate."

If, therefore, the total quantity of ſpirits conſumed in the country is not intended to be increaſed, any increaſe on the conſumption of brandy muſt affect that of rum and home-made ſpirits, unleſs an equivalent diminution of duty takes place upon them. The miniſter, indeed, appears to have had this in his contemplation, and ſeems to think it a neceſſary and indiſpenſible policy, that the lowering the duty upon

brandy ſhould be ſecured againſt producing a conſequent diminution in the uſe of rum. He has already hinted an inclination to lower the duty upon rum 3 *d. per* gallon.

The only principle upon which this decreaſe can be founded, is a wiſh to preſerve a relative proportion in the conſumption of each article. If this be done, the amount of the diminiſhed rum duty muſt be added to the amount of the ſtipulated diminution of that upon brandy, as a certain and further degree of injury, to which the public purſe is wantonly expoſed.

The quantity of rum imported into this kingdom, on an average of four years preceding the year 1777, was 2,375,176 gallons. During the ſame period the export was 655,291 gallons. And the whole average annual conſumption was 1,719,785 gallons.

I have choſen to ſelect theſe years, becauſe in them the importations were moderate. If I had been influenced by any diſpoſition towards an uncandid advantage, I might have taken the year 1785, when the total importation amounted to 3,614,114 gallons; a quantity, as is very

 apparent,

apparent, infinitely greater; but, perhaps, partly to be accounted for by cauſes not permanent in their effect, and which, therefore, may not exiſt equally at another period.

Now threepence *per* gallon on 1,719,785 gallons, will produce aſum of 21,495*l.* 19*s.* 3*d.* Such is the amount of the reduced rum duty, which the miniſter has even intimated his conſent to make, in addition to what he has already given up upon brandy. But the Weſt India planter neither is, nor can be, ſatisfied or ſecure, under this diminution. It is not ſuch as will ſecure him againſt the increaſed importation of brandy, which, even under the higher duties, he found every difficulty to ſtruggle with.

The late war having fallen ſo heavily upon the Weſt Indies, having increaſed the price of every thing in Britain with which they are ſupplied, having loaded them with internal taxes in their iſlands, having increaſed both the price and the difficulty of procuring lumber from America, joined to the high freights and heavy inſurances which they are obliged to pay, has ſo conſiderably raiſed the price of their commodity,

modity of late years, that it is quite impoſſible that 3 *d. per* gallon can bring the planter on a footing with the importer of French brandy.

The Weſt India merchants, with a moderation which does them honour, have only ſolicited a reduction of 5 *d. per* gallon, which, upon the quantity already ſtated, will amount to 35,826 *l.* 12 *s.* 1 *d.*

DISTILLERY.

But it is not only the Weſt India planter who will be materially affected by the diminution of the duty upon brandy.

The MALT DISTILLERY will be equally hurt. It is a fact perfectly well known, that this branch of manufacture, ſo valuable to the landed intereſt of this country, is already in an alarming ſtate of decline. It has conſumed, in years paſt, no leſs than 500,000 quarters of malted corn. Upon an average of the three years preceding 1782, it conſumed ſcarcely 200,000 quarters. It would be preſuming too much upon a ſuppoſed ignorance in the reader, to point out the immenſe advantage it is

to the farmer to have ſuch a market for his grain, or to the revenue, by what it pays in its progreſſion of different ſtages from barley to ſpirits.

There was charged with duty, on an average of three years preceding 1782, 2,351,534 gallons of Britiſh ſpirits. During that period, however, as the duty was laid upon the waſh by a conjectural calculation, which ſuppoſed that 100 gallons of waſh produced 15 gallons of ſpirit; and as that calculation has been ſince found to be erroneous, and, by an act paſſed in the year 1784, the 100 gallons of waſh are charged with duty upon a ſuppoſition of producing 20 gallons of ſpirit, we muſt add the difference, to diſcover the quantity really made.

The effect of the regulation in 1784 was that of increaſing the number of gallons of ſpirits, charged with duty, one third. To the amount, therefore, of the average quantity upon which duty was charged the three years preceding 1782, muſt be added one third, which will leave the given number of gallons that would be charged with duty from the

ſame

ſame quantity of waſh at this time. The third of 2,351,534 is 783,844. The two ſums added, produce 3,135,378 gallons, which is the preciſe number upon which duty would now be charged.

The duty upon Britiſh ſpirits is now 2*s.* 6*d.* *per* gallon, calculating 100 gallons of waſh to produce 20 of ſpirits. If it ſhould be at all intended to ſave this uſeful manufacture, the duties upon it ought, and muſt be lowered, in the ſame proportion as thoſe of rum. If rum be lowered 5*d.* *per* gallon, a proportionate reduction of the duty upon Britiſh ſpirits will amount to 2*d.* *per* gallon—and this ſum will amount, upon the quantity of ſpirits above ſtated, to 26,128*l.* 3*s.* *per annum.*

If this reduction of duty ſhould not take place, it is not only the duty upon ſpirits which will be deſtroyed by the ruin of the diſtillery, but the duty upon malt, which upon the quantity uſed in the diſtillery amounts to above 100,000*l.* will ſuffer a proportional defalcation —the farmer will alſo loſe his beſt market for his grain—ſo that even the revered intereſt of the landed property is to be, in ſome degree,

among the ſacrifices which are to be made, for the encouragement of French induſtry, and the conſumption of French luxuries.

The above reaſoning proceeds upon the ſuppoſition, that the conſumption of the ſeveral articles of ſpirits, home and foreign, is to remain, after the operation of the preſent treaty, preciſely what it is at this time; and in that caſe the following defalcation will be ſuſtained by the revenue, namely,

Upon brandy	——	£ 90,951	8	6
Upon rum	——	35,826	12	1
Upon ſpirits	——	26,128	8	0
Total defalcation on ſpirits		152,906	8	7

If it ſhould be contended, however, that this decreaſe of duty upon the articles will be made up by a proportionate increaſe upon their conſumption, let us examine, what the degree of that increaſe, upon ſuch view of the ſubject, muſt neceſſarily be. Upon calculation it will be found to ſtand thus:

Of

TARIFF.		DISTILLERY.
Of brandy there muſt be increaſed		Gallons.
in the conſumption	—	259,860
Of rum ditto	——	153,522
Of home-made ſpirits	—	223,956
Total increaſe of conſumption to make up deficiency of revenue		637,338

Theſe then are the miſerable alternatives to which the people of Great Britain are to be reduced. They are to ſubmit, in the article of ſpirits alone, to a reduction of the national revenue to the amount of above 150,000 *l.* which by ſome expedient or other muſt be made good by new taxes—for the public creditor, it is preſumed, is not intended to be defrauded—or elſe their morals are to be corrupted, their health impaired, and their induſtry relaxed, by the increaſed uſe of a miſchievous luxury, the greateſt part of which is produced in another, and that a rival country.

COUNTERVAILING DUTIES.

All the articles of the tariff, except the four firſt, are founded at leaſt upon an oſtenſible

tenſible pretence to reciprocity. They preſume, that whatever may be the relative ſtate of ſkill, taxation, or the price of labour, the duties from ten to fifteen per Cent. are quite ſufficient to protect the manufactures of either country, againſt the competition of the other.

It is not however, a little remarkable, that while the Iriſh propoſitions were in agitation, the protecting duties being in that arrangement nearly upon an equivalent with thoſe of the preſent treaty, the manufacturers were then unanimouſly of opinion, that ſuch duties were perfectly inadequate to protect them againſt the manufacturers of Ireland?

If they were really ſo in that caſe, may it not be aſked, how it happens that they can be adequate to ſuch a protection now, when the *ad valorem* duty is ſo little higher, and the danger of the rivalſhip ſo much the greater? Cheapneſs of labour, comparative exemption from taxes, and the low price of the raw material, which were the motives pleaded for this inſufficient protection, are more decidedly in favour of France than of Ireland.

And

And ſingular and extraordinary indeed will it be, if thoſe advantages againſt which we declared vehemently, when propoſed to be granted to our ſiſter kingdom, ſhould be without objection agreed to, when extended to our old enemy and certain rival.

The want of capital in Ireland was the argument principally inſiſted upon by the ſupporters of the Iriſh propoſitions, as deciſive upon the ſuperiority of advantage which would reſult from them to Great Britain.

Is it poſſible to preſume upon this only ground of advantage with reſpect to Ireland, when we are ſpeaking of a commercial union with France? Such an argument in favour of the preſent treaty, would be too evidently ridiculous to demand a refutation.

Is the French cotton manufactory in a worſe ſtate than the Iriſh? Is their woollen manufactory no better? Are not their hardware, their hoſiery, their glaſs, and all their millinery wares, (which owe their value ſo much to faſhion) in a ſtate a thouſand times more flouriſhing, than thoſe of

Ireland ? Yet the manufacturers of England, with regard to theſe very points, expreſſed their apprehenſions of the Iriſh competition, and unanimouſly declared, that duties nearly equivalent to thoſe of the preſent French treaty, were by no means adequate to protect their home manufactures againſt this young and indigent rival. How then is it poſſible, that duties which were totally inadequate in one caſe, ſhould be entirely ſo in another, when the circumſtances of the danger are ſo much the greater ?

It has been often ſaid, that the cotton manufactury is the particular one which is to gain moſt by the opening the French market.

That merchants or ſpeculators may for a time make money by a trade which is a loſs to the country, is a propoſition too plain to be diſputed, and till it can be proved that the merchant's gain, and the nation's profit are ſynonimous, it will not be neceſſary to conteſt ſo unimportant a fact. But it may be of ſome uſe to take a ſhort view of the ſtate of both countries, and to conſider

for one moment, whether that advantage which, if admitted to exiſt in ſome articles at preſent, is of a nature likely to be ſecure and permanent.

To this end it will be neceſſary to make a ſhort enquiry into the ſtate of comparative taxation, and price of labour in the two countries.

The principal manufactures of France which are moſt likely to interfere in the articles permitted to go from England upon cuſtom duties, are ſettled in the countries of

Normandy,
Picardy,
Britanny,
Flanders,
The Three Biſhopricks of Metz,
Toul and *Verden*,
Alſace,
Lorainne,
and
Hainault.

In comparing the taxes of England with France, it is abſolutely neceſſary that we ſhould diſtinguiſh between the different provinces of that great empire, becauſe the ſtate burthens are in no degree like ours, general and indiſcriminate.—They differ in different parts of the kingdom, and, therefore, when we conſider the quantities of taxation to which the manufacturer is ſubject, it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the diſtrict in which he lives. It may not neceſſarily follow, that the price of ſubſiſtence is in proportion to the lowneſs of taxation in each province; but it happens, however, to be true, in point of fact, that thoſe diſtricts which we have juſt enumerated, are not only celebrated for the extent and ſucceſs of their manufactures, but alſo as being thoſe of all France in which proviſions are in the greateſt abundance.

Mr. *Neckar* has given an elaborate table of the different taxes of every ſort paid by the inhabitants of the different provinces of that country, and an accurate calculation of the amount which each individual pays—and from his ſtatement the following table is taken :

TARIFF.	COUNTERVAILING DUTIES. Liv. S.	l. s. d.
In the district which comprehends all Lorainne and Bar, the taxes amount, per head, to - - -	12 19 =	0 10 9½
In that of Strafbourg comprehending Alface,	14 1 =	0 11 8½
That of Liſle - - -	20 3 =	0 16 9½
That of Valenciennes * - -	20 15 =	0 17 3½
Amiens, which comprehends the country about Calais, Boulogne, and moſt of Picardy, - - -	28 10 =	1 3 9
Normandy - - -	29 16 =	1 4 10
Britanny - - -	12 10 =	0 10 5

If this rate of taxation be compared with that of England, or even with Ireland, the lowneſs of whoſe taxes alarmed all the manufacturers of England two years ago, the difference is ſtriking and remarkable. By a calculation made by Mr. Walker of Mancheſter, and preſented to the Houſe of Peers, it appears that the average amount of taxes paid by the Cotton manufacturers of Lancaſhire, amounted to 3l. per head; if the calculation be extended over the whole of the kingdom, reckoning nine millions of people in Great Britain, the whole amount of our taxes will be equal to 2l. 7s. or thereabouts, per head; a ſum above double the higheſt ſtate of taxation in any manufacturing province of France, and above four

* Theſe two comprehend all Flanders.

four times the amount of the taxation of the greateſt part of them.

But it is not the lowneſs of taxation alone which the manufacturers of this country have to dread. The wages of labour, and the price of living are equally advantageous to France.

In order to form a juſt compariſon between the rate of the wages of labour in the two countries, we muſt learn the price given for that ſpecies of labour to which the natural faculties of man are equal and applicable, and therefore in the preſent caſe our enquiry ſhould be, what the farmer pays upon an average for a day's labour in both countries. By the beſt information I can obtain, the common wages in the manufacturing parts of France do not exceed 8 or 10 ſous per day, that is, from 4d. to 5d. whereas in England the ſame ſort of labour coſt 1s. 2d. or 1s. 3d. We cannot reaſonably doubt, but there will be nearly the ſame proportionate difference of wages between the manufacturers of the two countries as there is between the day labourers; more

eſpecially

eſpecially when we conſider that this lowneſs of the wages of labour is occaſioned by lowneſs of taxes, and cheapneſs of proviſions; cauſes, which equally affect all claſſes of men, as well the manufacturer as the common labourer.—With the joint operation of all theſe cauſes can it be ſuppoſed that any preſumed degree of ſkill can long countervail ſuch decided advantages; capital will find its way to that ſituation where it can be employed to the beſt advantage, and the facility with which Britiſh artificers are, by the Treaty, enabled to ſettle in France, will, in a ſhort time, give them an eaſy poſſeſſion of our ſkill, and a conſequent participation in our capital.

It is to be conſidered alſo that the communication between the coaſts of England and France is infinitely eaſier, and infinitely more certain than that between Britain and Ireland; — from *Calais*, *Boulogne*, or even *Rouen*, *Havre*, or *L'Orient* to London, the paſſage can rarely exceed a day or two's navigation, in a ſafe and certain channel. From Ireland the paſſage is through a rough and boiſterous ſea—dangerous and uncertain for above half the year, and almoſt impracti-

cable

cable to be performed in leſs time than eight or ten days. Let us pauſe upon this circumſtance of advantage, and again aſk if there was danger from the Iriſh propoſitions; and if 10½ *per cent.* would not have been a protecting duty againſt the manufactures of Ireland, whether it is poſſible that the ſame duty can protect our manufactures againſt thoſe of France?

The principle alſo upon which countervailing duties are eſtabliſhed by the treaty, is narrow, and inadequate. If a countervailing duty have any meaning at all, it is intended to equalize the burthens under which the different manufacturers labour, that they may be upon even terms as to the employment of their reſpective ſkill, and the exerciſe of their mutual induſtry.—Will the countervailing the mere duty impoſed upon the manufacture itſelf, in any ſhape produce the effect which ſhould be the vital principle of this ſpecies of protection. It is a melancholy truth, with reſpect to England, heavily burthened as ſhe is, that in the multiplicity of her taxes many of them fall equally ſevere upon the manufacturer as if they were directly

directly impoſed upon his manufacture itſelf.—The tax upon the houſe in which the manufacturer lives; the ſoap and candles, and leather which he uſes; the commutation for tea, which, perhaps, he does not drink; the tax upon his receipts, his bills, and upon the ſhop itſelf where his goods are ſold, muſt all form a part of the price of the commodity in which he deals, and ultimately fall upon the article equally as if placed immediately upon it; yet no attempt is made to countervail ſuch, which are, in fact, virtual *ad valorem* duties, upon the importation of them.

Were the two countries, *in all reſpects*, upon an equal footing, the duties might be ſufficient to afford encouragement and protection to our manufactures; but unequal as they are in *every* reſpect to the diſadvantage of England, it requires no long look into futurity, to ſee the period when her boaſted ſkill, which at beſt is but a temporary ſuperiority, muſt give way to the influence of advantages which are certain and permanent.

It is not only that the preſent treaty is narrow and confined in the principle of its coun-

tervailing duties, but that some internal duties are totally omitted in the list, such as the duty upon Leather and upon Malt, while others are inserted which the ministers themselves know it is utterly impossible to attempt to carry it into effect, such as those upon Iron, and Plate Glass.

The united testimony of all the most respectable and intelligent manufacturers, when given before Parliament upon the subject of the Irish propositions, went, with one voice, to this opinion, That 16½ *per cent. ad valorem*, was totally, and out of all proportion, unequal to their protection against the rival manufactures of the sister kingdom.

If then, as is more than probable, the same system of commercial intercourse between the two countries should be revived again; and if the manufacturers should be found to have been in a state of inaction as to the accomplishment of the present Treaty with France, with what appearance of propriety could they present themselves before either House of Parliament, to renew their resistance to the former measure?

Would they decline opposing a plan of connection with Ireland, which two years before they had represented as pregnant with every sort of danger, and even with certain destruction to their most essential interests?

Or would they have the courage to say, in the face of so august an assembly, "It is true we contended, that a duty of 10½ *per cent.* was entirely insufficient to afford us any protection against the competition of a poor and untaught relation; but we are now equally prepared to argue, That the very same duty is an ample and satisfactory security against the hostile rivalship of a direct enemy, of a Country rich in capital, cheaper in labour, more advanced in skill, and more abundant in materials."

Would such men as Mr. Wedgewood, Mr. Walker, or Mr. Gibbon risque the fair and honourable respect which they hold amongst their countrymen, by being guilty of an incongruity so palpable and disreputable?—They would despise such a proceeding, in words. Let them be careful, then, that they are not equally exposed to the imputation of it, through

their conduct. If France be only in the ſame degree of advancement as Ireland—if ſhe poſſeſſes labour no cheaper, ſkill no more improved, or materials in no greater quantities, but all only in the ſame degree; yet if the communication with England be equally eaſy and leſs expenſive, how is it that ſhe is not equally a ſubject of alarm in the formation of a connection, the baſis of which, with reſpect to the manufacturers, is preciſely the ſame.

The manufacturers muſt explain this in their own vindication—either their oppoſition to the Iriſh propoſitions was *Faction*, or their inertneſs as to the progreſs of the preſent Treaty is *Deſertion*; Deſertion to the ultimate intereſts of their country, into which they are ſeduced by the influence of a little preſent advantage to themſelves.

IRON.

The manufacturers of Iron and Hardware are flattered that their manufacture will find its way into France upon better terms than it formerly did, and an idea is deluſively encouraged amongſt them, that the high duty upon

the

the import of foreign Iron is to be counter-vailed upon French goods coming to England. Some high finiſhed, and high priced articles may, and probably will, for a time, go from this country to France. They will do ſo till Britiſh workmen ſhall teach the French to avail themſelves of the advantages they poſſeſs of the cheapneſs of their labour, and the lowneſs of their taxes. It is in vain, however, to hope that any of the ordinary ſorts of wares can be exported into that country.

The German and *Leige* Hardware, though perhaps not ſo highly finiſhed, is infinitely cheaper than the Engliſh. The article of arms alone, which it has been thought could be purchaſed at a lower price at Birmingham than in any part of the world, may be had at Leige 20 *per cent.* cheaper than in England, and other articles in proportion. The *Flemings* already excel us in moſt articles of inferior Hardware; and can we indulge an expectation that they will not have at leaſt the ſame advantage in the French market which they have in every other?

When Mr. Gibbons, whoſe authority on theſe ſubjects is certainly of the moſt reſpectable nature, was aſked by the Houſe of Lords, whether

whether we had not a considerable trade in manufactured iron ware to Portugal, Madeira, and different ports in the Mediterranean? he answered, "That we formerly had—but that "we had lost it for some years."

And when asked to assign the reason of that loss, he replied—"The Flemings undersell us. "*They have their labour and their iron cheaper.*"

Have not the Flemings the same advantages in the French as in the Portugueze market?—Have not the French their labour and their iron equally cheap as the Flemings?

The duty upon bar iron imported into France is 15 livres *per* ton, or 12 *s.* 6 *d.*—The duty upon bar iron imported into England, amounts to 2 *l.* 16 *s.* 1 *d.* which neither can be drawn back upon exportation, nor countervailed upon importation.

As both France and England produce iron of their own, which enters into the manufacture of the country, the power of countervailing the duty upon the raw material, reserved by the treaty, is delusive and impracticable*.

* In point of fact, we know that it is not intended to be used; and, if it could be used, it would in France amount nearly to a prohibition upon our goods going there.

When

When a ton of manufactured iron is carried to a cuſtom-houſe in either country, is it poſſible to diſtinguiſh whether the material is foreign, or Britiſh, or French iron—or how much of the one, or how much of the other, enters into the particular quantity of goods manufactured? Yet ſuch diſtinction muſt be made, before any drawback can be given, or countervailing duty can be raiſed. If the goods are of the iron of either the one or the other country, neither drawbacks nor countervailing duties can be made uſe of, becauſe no duty has, in that caſe, been paid upon the import of the raw material, and therefore there can be nothing either to drawback or to countervail. If, on the contraay, the goods are manufactured of foreign iron, a drawback ought to be given upon exportation, and the duty ought to be countervailed upon the import.

The abſolute impoſſibility of making thoſe diſtinctions, places all idea of any countervailing duty totally out of the queſtion.—How then, laying for a moment every advantage which France derives from cheap labour and low taxes entirely out of the queſtion) will the account ſtand as to this article between the two countries.

Mr.

Mr. Gibbons calculates, in his well-informed and ingenious anſwer to Sir Lucius Obrien upon the iron trade, that upon an average it requires a ton and half of iron to produce a ton of manufactured wares. In ſome articles it requires more, and in others leſs*.

Let us ſuppoſe, that a ton thus manufactured is worth 40 *l.* ſterling.—Then, Engliſh iron going to France will ſtand thus:

	£.	s.	d.
Duty upon 30 cwt. of iron, manufactured into one ton of wares, at 2 *l.* 16 *s.* 1 *d. per* ton	4	4	1½
Ten *per cent.* upon 40 *l.* duty by the treaty - - -	4	0	0
	8	4	1½

* The following account of the value of manufactured iron (excluding hardware) is taken from Lord Sheffield's very ingenious and intelligent Obſervations upon the American Trade; a book which every reader, deſirous of knowing the actual ſtate of Britiſh commerce, ought to conſult:

Iron when manufactured is worth per ton,

	£		
Bolts -	24	Anvils - -	42
Anchors -	30	Tin Plates -	42
Nails -	35	Steel from 24 to -	56
Hoes and Axes	42		

Let

Let us ſuppoſe, that the ſame goods come from France to England.—Then the account will ſtand as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
French import duty upon 30 cwt. of iron - - - -	0	18	9
Ten *per cent.* duty by the treaty	4	0	0
	4	18	9

That is to ſay, that French wares, manufactured from foreign iron, will come to England 3 *l.* 5 *s.* 4$\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* cheaper than the ſame goods can go from England to France, and the ſame ſum cheaper than any Engliſhman can manufacture the ſame goods from the ſame iron.—Theſe ſums are fully ſufficient to prevent Engliſh goods going to France, and probably ſufficient, when joined to the price of labour, to enable her in time to ſupply England herſelf.

But if we ſhould ſuppoſe for a moment, that there is little immediate practicability on the part of France to rival us in our own market, let us examine, what is the probability of our ſupplying hers.

It is not the Flemings and the Germans only whom we are to meet in the French market, but the Iriſh will be enabled to trade there upon terms ſo infinitely preferable to us, as muſt in a very ſhort time give them a decided ſuperiority over us in the French market.

I have already demonſtrated the impoſſibility of either drawing back or countervailing the import duties upon iron; therefore, Iriſh manufactured iron muſt go to France in the ſame way as iron manufactured in Britain now goes to every part of the world, loaded only with the import duty upon the material.—The Iriſh duty is 9 *s.* $7\frac{1}{2}$ *d. per* ton:

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
The duty therefore upon a ton of wares will be - - -	0	14	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Ten *per cent.* duty by the treaty	4	0	0
	4	14	$5\frac{1}{2}$
But Engliſh duties on importation into France are - -	8	4	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Therefore the advantage in favour of Ireland is - - -	3	9	$8\frac{1}{2}$

But

But the advantages in favour of Ireland and of France will be ſtill greater than they are here ſtated; as they pay ſo much leſs duty, they can, of courſe, ſell their wares cheaper, in the firſt inſtance, by all that difference; but in the ſecond, they will evidently have a leſs *per centage* duty to pay on the importation of the ſame quantity of manufactured iron.—The ſame ton of wares which in England coſts 40l. and pays a duty of 4l. 4s. 1½d. paying in Ireland only 14s. 5¼d. will only pay the 10 *per cent.* upon 36l. 10s. 3¾d. that is, inſtead of paying 4l. will only pay 3l. 13s. 7d. which makes a farther advantage to Ireland of 6s. 5d. and nearly of the ſame ſum in favour of France in the Engliſh market.

If to theſe advantages we add that ariſing from cheapneſs of labour, the compariſon will be ſtill more againſt this country. Labour in Ireland is a full third, and in France a full half, cheaper than in England; and if we ſhould ſuppoſe, for the ſake of calculation, what is infinitely under the mark, that a ton of wares value 40l. coſt 7l. in England for the

article of labour, the account will then ſtand thus:

	£.	s.	d.
Duty upon the raw material ſaved in Ireland - - -	3	9	8¾
Saving of duty of 10 *per cent.* upon this ſum, on ſending their wares to France - -	0	6	5
Saving one-third in the price of labour - - -	2	6	8
	£. 6	2	9¼

Such will be the advantage which Ireland will have over England in manufacturing iron for the French market. The French and the Iriſh will be pretty nearly upon a par, as if labour be ſomewhat cheaper in France than in Ireland, the duty upon the raw material is ſomewhat higher in France than in Ireland.—With theſe advantages, can we ſuppoſe that France will not rapidly improve in her iron manufactures; or if ſhe ſhould not, can we flatter ourſelves that we can have the remoteſt chance of ſupplying her market; or will not rather Engliſh artiſts, with Engliſh ſkill and Engliſh capital, be inclined to emigrate to

Ireland

Ireland for the ſake of availing themſelves of ſuch a market as that of France.

The idea of drawing back the duty upon the raw material has been often thought of, and as often has been found impracticable. As it cannot be diſtinguiſhed, whether goods were manufactured from foreign or Britiſh iron, the drawing back the duty muſt operate, as far as exportation goes, as if no duty were laid upon the import of iron; and it is a known and decided fact, that without ſuch duty the valuable iron works in England muſt be at an end*.

* An idea has prevailed with ſome, that the import of bar iron into this country is much upon the decline, and therefore, that our exports in future will be from iron made in England. The fact is directly the reverſe, the importation of late years has encreaſed rather than diminiſhed.

Bar Iron imported.

	Tons		Tons		Tons
1764	46,436	1771	48,677	1783	47,914
1765	54,078	1772	51,210	1784	54,457
1766	34,910	1773	48,980	1785	45,600
Average	45,141¼		49,622¼		49,323½

COTTON.

COTTON.

If from the article of iron we proceed to that of cotton, we ſhall ſee equally little reaſon to pronounce a very decided panegyric upon the ſkill and intelligence of the negociator of this treaty.

It is a fact pretty well known, that ſince the loſs of *Tobago*, which was ceded, perhaps, not with a ſingular good policy, by the treaty of peace in 1783 to France, that we have received conſiderable ſupplies of the raw material from that country, which is ſubject to a duty of about 1d. *per lb.* upon export from France.

It is one of thoſe ſingular derelictions of their own principles which is to be found only in minds of ſo unſtable a ſtructure as that of Mr. Eden, that he made no ſyſtem for ſecuring us from the miſchiefs of that peace, which he had been one of the foremoſt to reprobate.—His treaty does not contain one ſingle ſtipulation obligatory upon France, not to encreaſe her duties, nor even to bind her againſt the entire prohibition of the export of cotton wool. This power, therefore, is left entirely at her option,

option, and may be exercised whenever she thinks proper.

Britain imported from France last year above two millions of pounds of cotton; she got from Portugal nearly the same quantity of *Brazil* cotton, of a quality, and of a price superior to any other. These two quantities amount to nearly one-third of the whole consumption of our cotton manufactures*.—Thus, then, the treaty of commerce which, by disgusting Portugal, renders our supply from thence, to say no worse, extremely precarious; and by leaving it in the power of France to prohibit all supply from her quarter, leaves us at the mercy of our rivals almost for the existence of that manufacture which we justly estimate among the most valuable of those our national industry is employed in.

France also has her cotton at a lower price. The price of the raw material of this article is in general from 1d. to 2d. *per lb.* of equal quality, less in France than in England. This originates partly in the superior cheapness of

	lbs.
* From France and French Flanders,	2,078,413
From Portugal, - -	1,629,419

which

her navigation, and partly from the duty which she obliges us to pay for what we export from her.

She has besides many of dying drugs which are employed in this manufacture, of her own growth.

By some unaccountable superiority also of national taste, she excels us in patterns. Many of our present patterns of cottons are designed there, and when they have obtained a greater facility in the manufacture of this article, there is surely a dangerous probability that we shall take from France the stuff instead of the pattern.

The early and successful application of machinery, with the wonderful inventions of Arkwright, (which have, however, been instituted in France with a capital supplied by their treasury, to the amount of 15,000l. to the person who conducts them) joined to the spirit and activity of the manufacturers of Manchester, have hitherto given us a considerable superiority in the cotton trade.—It is clear, however, that the manufacture does not stand upon such grounds as to be above the appre-

henſion of competition. Every advantage which was dreaded from Ireland, (and a reference to the evidence given before the Houſe of Lords, on the ſubject of the Iriſh propoſitions, will prove, that the dread entertained was of the moſt alarming nature) is poſſeſſed by France; ſhe has, or may have, after the operation of the treaty, every ſpecies of machinery equally perfect as at Mancheſter.

She has cheap labour, and a multitude of hands ready to be converted into the beſt ſort of workmen in this trade. It was ſtated in evidence upon the Iriſh propoſitions, that the beſt cotton weavers were bred firſt to the trade of linen weaving, and that a few weeks were ſufficient to qualify them for a proficiency in it.

The French linen manufacture is extenſive; Spain and the Spaniſh flota are ſupplied from it; and a very little time therefore, if the above teſtimony be founded in fact, and there can be no reaſon to think it is not, will mature her weavers to the manufacture of cotton.—When that event ſhall happen, we muſt loſe at leaſt one market for the purchaſe of the raw cotton, and

upon what natural or permanent advantage we can flatter ourſelves with retaining a deciſive ſuperiority over a country which will unite cheaper materials and cheaper labour, with at leaſt equal taſte, it is not eaſy to diſcover.—The expectation is too weak for the undiſtinguiſhing ſanguineneſs of infancy itſelf.

GLASS.

In this article it ſeems quite impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that we ſhould either ſupply France, or continue to ſupply ourſelves. Conſiderable duties are paid upon the import of ſome articles from which it is made.

And from the mode in which the duty is laid upon glaſs itſelf, it is ſcarcely poſſible to adjuſt a countervailing duty, or ſettle a drawback. The duty is charged upon glaſs in its fluid ſtate, and no allowance is either made, or has ever been found practicable to be made, for the quantity which is uſeleſs in the firſt preparation, or what is broken or damaged in the making. All that quantity not only is charged with duty in the firſt inſtance, but is

again

again charged, if it ſhould be again thrown into the melting pot. The difference between the real and nominal duty, occaſioned by this mode of impoſing it, is infinitely various in the different ſpecies of glaſs ware, and is in ſome inſtances enormous, but is, at the ſame time, impoſſible to be aſcertained with any ſafety to the revenue.

The ſame difficulty attends the drawback of duty. In ſome inſtances, the difference between the drawback and the real duty paid, will amount to 40 or 50 *per cent.* and the difference between the nominal duty and the actual duty paid, is equally great *.

If French glaſs coming to England is to pay the duty upon the actual quantity imported, it will be far, indeed, ſhort of the duty which

* The proportion between the weight of goods made, and the weight of goods charged by the exciſe officer, is calculated to be as follows:

Flint glaſs	as	100 to 147
Bottle glaſs		100 to 112
Broad glaſs		100 to 157½

In cut glaſs the proportion is infinitely greater; the drawback is in the inverſe proportion; that is to ſay, goods which have paid 147, draw back 100.

has been paid by the Engliſh manufacturer for the ſame quantity worked here.

If, on the other hand, it ſhould be attempted to form a calculation what the actual duty was which each particular ſpecies of wares had paid, it would prove, as all ſuch calculations have hitherto proved, a dangerous and impracticable attempt.

Independent of the known ſuperiority of the French in many articles of the glaſs manufactory, therefore it is not reaſonable to expect, that we ſhould be enabled to ſend any of thoſe articles, ſuch as crown glaſs, in which we are ſuppoſed to excel all countries, into France. The drawback of duty is leſs than the duty paid on different articles, from 21 to 45 *per cent*; or, in other words, glaſs is exported from this country, ſubject to a duty from 21 to 45 *per cent.*—Miſerable indeed muſt be the ſtate of the French manufacture, or partial in the extreme muſt be the hopes of thoſe who can expect to ſupply France with glaſs ware under ſuch circumſtances. Ireland labours under none of the above diſadvantages; ſhe pays no duty upon the raw material, and is improving rapidly in the manufacture of it. Drinking glaſſes

may

may be had four or five ſhilling *per* doz. cheaper in Dublin than in London. If then France is furniſhed with this commodity from the dominions of his Britannic Majeſty, is it to Britain or Ireland that ſhe will direct herſelf for her ſupply?

MILLINERY.

This article, though apparently not amongſt the moſt important of thoſe affected by the regulations of the Tariff, will be found to involve as much error in the principle of its adjuſtment, and as much impolicy as to ſome of its domeſtic conſequences, as any other included in the operation of the Treaty.

The duty upon this branch of the mutual trade, now for the firſt time deemed of conſequence enough to be comprehended amongſt the objects of a general commercial ſyſtem, is to be in future 12 *per cent. ad valorem* upon importation into either country. Let us examine then, how far this duty is likely to have the effect of a real operative reciprocity.—One principal article of which millinery is compoſed, is *Muſlin*. Muſlin bought at the Eaſt India Company's ſales pays a duty of 18 *l. per cent.* to the Company; of which, however,

however, 12 *l.* is allowed to be drawn back on re-exportation.

With reſpect to ſuch articles of the millinery as are compoſed of the muſlin imported by the French Eaſt India Company, this will be the caſe between the two countries—The French manufacture will have nothing to pay on its importation here, but ſimply the 12 *l. per cent. ad valorem*, impoſed by the treaty. But the ſame manufacture of England will have the ſix *per cent.* (the difference between the original duty paid to the Eaſt India Company, and the *quantum* of the drawback) to be added to this reciprocal *ad valorem* duty; that is, it will pay 18 *l. per cent.* on its admiſſion into the ports of France. In this view of the ſubject, therefore, there is no reciprocity.

With reſpect to that part of the French millinery which is compoſed even of muſlin bought in England, they will be found to be at leaſt upon a level with us in our own market. They can purchaſe the muſlins of the Eaſt India Company, drawing back all the duty but ſix *per cent.* They can return them in their ſtate of finiſhed manufacture here,

here, at the ſtipulated duty of 12 *per cent.*; that is, with the difference only of freight, which is infinitely overbalanced by the conſideration of their cheaper labour, they can ſell their prepared and made up millinery with every advantage of ſuperior faſhion, and every recommendation of a prevailing partiality in their favour, preciſely for the ſame duty which the Engliſhman pays for his unmanufactured muſlin at the India Houſe.

The almoſt entire impoſſibility, alſo, which will exiſt againſt our availing ourſelves of the permitted drawback on the exportation of the Company's muſlins when ſent out in a ſtate of manufacture, will deſerve to be conſidered.—An application for the drawback upon the quantity of this article uſed in the formation of a cap or an apron, will be evidently difficult to a degree of almoſt total impracticability. Upon that ſuppoſition, the relative ſituation of the two countries as to this branch of their reciprocal impoſts will be this, That the manufactured muſlin ſent from England will pay the original 18 *per cent.* to the Company, and the 12 *per cent. ad valorem* to the cuſtoms of France, making altogether 30

per

per cent. ad valorem, before it can obtain admiſſion into their market.—Whereas, as I before ſtated, the ſame quantity, even of muſlin bought from our own Company, can be introduced from France at a duty only of 18*l.* *per cent.* which leaves a difference of 12*l.* *per cent. ad valorem* in their favour; and of 18*l.* *per cent.* if the muſlin be of the importation of the French Eaſt India Company.

Nor does it appear eaſy or practicable to diſtinguiſh, in many inſtances, ſo as to adjuſt with preciſion, the duty to be paid, on ſome articles at preſent prohibited from France, and which will in future be imported under the denomination of millinery. India muſlins, French crapes, and tiffanies, are at preſent in a ſtate of prohibition. The former are poſitively admitted by the treaty; and as the latter may at preſent be imported from Italy, ſubject to a duty, they will with great facility be in future brought from France, who greatly excel all nations in thoſe manufactures. In a commercial view of this ſubject, therefore, it will appear to be not leſs exceptionable than the other regulations of the Tariff.—It demands conſideration, however, upon another point of its inevitable tendency.

Few

Few are the employments which exiſt in this country for the exerciſe of female induſtry,—and few the honeſt expedients for female ſubſiſtence.—Why thoſe ſhould have been wantonly diminiſhed, as by effect of this article they evidently muſt, and that to a moſt alarming extent, will not be eaſily accounted for on any principle of general policy, or with any reconciliation to domeſtic morals.

Was there not miſchief enough done to the male poor of this country, by the operation of the new arrangement, to have ſatisfied the moſt ſyſtematic Parliament, if any ſuch exiſt, (or if it be not fairer to ſuppoſe ignorance than barbarity) in the negociator of this treaty? —Or, was it a motive of conſiſtency that prevailed with him to the adoption of this pernicious ſtipulation?—That having uniformly reſiſted the leaſt appearance of equitable mutuality in the whole courſe of the negociation with France, he determined to act up to himſelf, and to reject a reciprocity even in their national gallantry.

Whatever was the cauſe, the effect is moſt reprehenſible.—If it be true that female virtue

be a quality which deſerves encouragement either as a ſource of domeſtic happineſs, or public benefit, it muſt be equally ſo that this part of Mr. Eden's treaty demands the ſevereſt reprobation, both of the private individual and the politician.

SADLERY.

IT is extremely difficult to aſcertain the exact extent of this term.—It is known to comprehend many articles of manufactured leather which by no means appear to be naturally included under it.

Our leather manufacture is certainly at preſent in a more flouriſhing ſtate than that of the French; but it is equally true, that they are uſing every exertion to arrive at a ſpeedy competition with us:—They have all the materials as good, in as great plenty, and as cheap as we have; and there is no ſuch myſtery in the trade itſelf, as to make it at all difficult of acquiſition, more particularly ſince the treaty places them on ſo advantageous a footing with reſpect to it. What appears to be a fifteen *per*

cent. duty by the treaty, is, in fact, *no duty* at all upon French leather coming to England; but is, at leaſt, 25 or 30 *per cent.* upon Engliſh ſadlery imported there.

The internal duty upon leather in England is equal to about 15 *per cent.* upon the value.

It is impoſſible to give the ſhadow of reaſon, why in the liſt of countervailing duties this is not to be found. The 15 *per cent.* import duty being then merely equal to the internal duty in this country, puts French and Engliſh leather upon the ſame footing as if the internal duty had been countervailed, and no duty at the port was to be paid.—

The caſe, however, is directly reverſed upon Engliſh leather goods going to France. As the internal duty is paid upon the whole hide, and as conſiderable parts of it are loſt in the manufacture, the real duty upon the goods is infinitely higher than it appears upon the material.

Three halfpence *per lb.* upon the whole quantity, may be 2 d. or more upon the manufacture.

nufacture. The drawback is only paid upon the weight actually exported; by which means a duty of 9 or more *per cent.* remains upon it, which, added to the port duty in France, of 15 *per cent.* makes the whole duty upon Engliſh leather going to France equal to 25 *per cent.* Whereas I have already ſaid, that by the operation of our internal duty, French leather will come here, after paying the 15 *per cent.* ſtipulated by the treaty, almoſt entirely on the ſame footing with our own.

Of the article of *Porcelain* and *Pottery* I ſhall ſay but little.—The manufactures of *Worceſter* and *Derby* will certainly be totally unable to ſupport themſelves againſt the more beautiful compoſitions of this article in *Seve* or *Paris*.

The beauty and elegance of Mr. Wedgwood's ware, may for a time give it a conſiderable advantage in the French market; but he has himſelf declared, upon oath, that no leſs a duty than 40 or 50 *per cent.* was ſufficient to protect him againſt the infant manufactures of Ireland:—

That

That it was in the power of any nation, by difficulties at the cuſtom-houſe, by unpacking the goods, and a thouſand ſuch artificial embarraſſments, to convert a low duty into an abſolute prohibition.

That little ſkill was neceſſary in the inferiour workmen;

And that equally little time was neceſſary, in addition to natural advantages and cheapneſs of labour, to transfer the manufacture to another country; of which indeed he gave the remarkable inſtance in Ireland, which, within three years after the trade with America was laid open, had effectually taken from us both the export of leather and of glaſs.

There can be no doubt, therefore, but this manufacture, like others, will only be productive of a temporary advantage to England.

WOOLLENS.

I come now to that part of the tariff which reſpects the ſtaple of Britiſh manufactures, the trade of her woollens.—It has been a pre-

a prevailing opinion ſince the publication of Mr. Eden's Treaty, that this is not the part of his ſyſtem which threatens the moſt injurious conſequences to the manufacturers of Great Britain. General opinions taken up on looſe grounds, and diſſeminated without examination, are apt to have a more deciding influence in this country, than in their nature belongs to them. That this particular ſpecies of manufacture is more affected by the ſtipulations of this treaty, or even equally with ſome other branches of our trade, I know not, amidſt ſuch an accumulation of dangerous innovations, that it would be ſafe to affirm, That it is not diſmiſſed, however, without ſome participation in the general defects of this extraordinary arrangement, will not be very difficult to demonſtrate.

The *Drap D'Elbeuf*, which is among the fineſt of the French cloths, ſells in that country, as is to be aſcertained upon all the moſt modern authorities, at 19 livres 15 ſous, or 16s. 5½d. according to the preſent rate of Exchange, per aune.

I need

I need not inform the intelligent reader, but ſtate it to facilitate the enquiries of thoſe who may be leſs converſant in this ſort of information, that the French *aune* is to the Engliſh *yard*, in the proportion of nine to ſeven, that is, it conſiſts of forty-ſix inches and two ſevenths.

By the *Reglemens General, pour la Manufacture du Drap* of Auguſt, 1669, and by the *Arret du Conſeil*, of the 19th of February, 1671, the moſt reſpectable authority that can be appealed to on this occaſion, the breadth of the *Drap D'Elbeuf* is regulated at one aune and $\frac{1}{4}$, or 57 inches $\frac{6}{7}$ in breadth.

By multiplying, therefore, $46\frac{2}{7}$ inches, the length of an aune, by $57\frac{6}{7}$ inches, the breadth of the *Drap D'Elbeuf*, we ſhall have preciſely the number of ſquare inches contained in one aune of this cloth, which upon calculation will be found to be $2677\frac{4}{49}$ ſquare inches.

The price of the beſt Engliſh broad cloth is 18s. per yard, and is 7 quarters or 63 inches in breadth.

The

The length, therefore, as in the former caſe, multiplied with the breadth, that is, 36×63, will give the exact number of ſquare inches contained in one yard of Engliſh broad cloth, which will be found to be 2268 ſquare inches, which will leave a difference of four hundred and nine ſquare inches more cloth in the aune of *Drap D'Elbeuf*, which ſells for 16s. $5\frac{1}{2}$d. than is in the yard of Engliſh broad cloth, which ſells for 18s.

By a farther calculation it will appear, that the ſame quantity of ſquare inches of Engliſh cloth as are in the French aune, if ſold at Engliſh price, would make ſuch aune coſt one pound one ſhilling and ſeven pence, and a fraction. But the French aune of the *Drap D'Elbeuf* coſts only ſixteen ſhillings and five pence halfpenny; in preciſely the ſame quantity of cloth, therefore, there remains a difference in the price to markets, in favour of France, of four ſhillings and ſixpence halfpenny.

To take the calculation another way:—I have ſaid that a yard of Engliſh broad cloth coſts 18s. Now it will turn out by a ſimple operation of figures, that the ſame quantity

quantity of French beſt cloth, or *Drap D'Elbeuf*, which is contained in an Engliſh yard, ſold at the rate of 16s. 5½d. per aune, the French price, would coſt preciſely 13s. 10½d. per yard. a view of the ſubject which perhaps may make it clearer to the underſtanding of Engliſhmen, becauſe more familiar to the habits of meaſurement in practice amongſt them. By this laſt calculation then there would remain a difference per yard between the beſt cloths of France and England, the former indiſputably not inferior in quality to the latter, but directly the contrary, of 4s. 1½d. in favour of the *Drap D'Elbeuf*.

If it ſhould be urged in reply to the above facts, which certainly ſtand upon evidence, that it will be very difficult, if at all practicable to ſhake, that though the difference of price of the ſame quantity of the ſame ſort of cloth, between the two countries, be certainly material, yet it is not ſo much as will not be ſufficiently covered by the duty of 12l. per cent. united with the expence of freight, &c. which may be fairly eſtimated at 3l. more, and which will make the whole amount of the charges upon importation here

of French woollens 15l. per cent. *ad valorem.* This it may, and indeed has been said will be such an incumbrance upon the admission of cloth, as to amount pretty nearly to a mutual prohibition. How far that is likely to be the case with respect to the British market, it will be my next business to enquire.

Suppose it to be admitted upon the average, and it cannot be far from the mark, but at all events is equally fair between the two countries, that two yards and a half of British broad cloth are taken up in making one coat.

	£.	s.	d.
We have seen, that the same quantity of the *Drap D'Elbeuf* which is contained in an English yard, costs - - -	0	13	10¼
A coat of this therefore, made on the average mentioned above, will cost precisely - - -	1	13	8¼
A coat made of the same quantity of British cloth, at the market price, to wit, 18s. per yard, will cost - - -	2	5	0

Which

Which will leave a difference of eleven ſhillings and three pence three farthings on each coat.

Now 15 *l. per cent. ad valorem*, upon 1 *l.* 18 *s.* $8\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* the price of the coat made of the *Drap d'Elbeuf*, will amount to 5 *s.* and a fraction. This added to the price, will make the whole coſt upon importation into England, preciſely 1 *l.* 18 *s.* $8\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* that is 6 *s.* $3\frac{1}{4}$ *d.* leſs than a coat made of our own broad cloth in the metropolis of England.

It is proper to obſerve here, that there is great reaſon to believe, after the operation of this treaty, cloaths will be imported into this country, in great quantities, ready made; in which caſe will be to be added, to the other advantages in favour of France, the decided ſuperiority they poſſeſs over us, in the eſſential article of cheaper labour. It is well known as a fact, that a coat is made in Paris for four livres 10 ſous, or 3 *s.* 9 *d.* Engliſh, which in London will coſt at leaſt 10 *s.* 6 *d.*

In the whole of the above argument I have totally left out of the queſtion all conſideration

of ſuperior quality on the part of the French ſuperfines; a fact, however, which is ſufficiently atteſted, and will not (particularly in their Scarlets and their Blacks, in which we do not come within the remoteſt chance of competition) be attempted to be controverted by any perſon at all converſant in theſe concerns.

I ſhall next inquire, whether the manufactures of our own wool are likely to be ſent in large quantities to France; and for that purpoſe it will be neceſſary to examine, whether the difference in the price of the raw material in the two countries, is ſo much in favour of England, as to enable her to ſend her manufactures of coarſe wool in competition to the French market, where labour is ſo much cheaper, and under an expence of 15 *l. per cent.*

Lord Sheffield, in his Obſervations on Trade with the American States, ſuppoſes common wool 20 *per cent.* cheaper in England than in France. This gives us an advantage of 5 *l. per cent.* at the French market; but this 5 *l. per cent.* is not only no very great encouragement, but it is certain that, from recent advantages acquired by France, this ſuperiority is not

now very confidently to be relied upon. France has gained upon us, in this ſpecies of woollen, in the Levant market, for a long time. It is equally well aſcertained, that our trade to the ſouth of Europe has declined to a very large degree.—We conſoled ourſelves with the hope, however, that it would maintain itſelf in the north of Europe* ; but it has decreaſed in that quarter (taking an average of four years following the year 1763, and of the four years ending 1784) from 1,331,928*l.* to 573,029*l.* A part of this great deficiency muſt be ſupplied from ſome other quarter ; for all the countries which we previouſly furniſhed with this article certainly cannot ſupply themſelves. The woollen manufactures of Spain are conſiderably improved† ; but ſtill ſhe does not produce ſufficient, even for her own dominions. We therefore know of no country that can ſupply what

* Namely, in Holland, Germany, Ruſſia, Denmark, Sweden, and the Eaſt country.

† Eſpecially in bays, low cloths, and ſerges, which are cheap, though of an inferior kind. Some of her ſerges indeed are at leaſt as good as ours. The ſhalloons made at Guadaxaro, ten leagues from Madrid, are very good, though not well preſſed or finiſhed.

we have loſt, unleſs it ſhould be France.—In the long bays, and other branches of the Bocking manufacture, ſhe decidedly excels us. As good camblets as any in the world, are now made at Liſle. She can alſo underſell us in a manufacture between camblet and bartagon, worn by the clergy. She is enabled to carry on a large manufacture of fine ſerges in Normandy and Brittany; and alſo of ſagathies at Amiens, Abbeville, and other places. She ſurpaſſes us at preſent in the dreſſing of beavers, worn for great coats; and they now at leaſt equal us in mixed colours, in which we uſed to excel.

I ſhall now proceed to ſay a few words in the way of calculation upon the Cloths of inferior quality, and to avoid too particular a detail (the prolixity of which may, I fear, have, by this time, ſufficiently fatigued the Reader; but let it be always remembered, however, that, in ſubjects of this kind, it is upon minute points that great intereſts ſolely hinge) will content myſelf with conſidering only *one* ſort, in which both countries carry on a very extenſive manufacture; I mean the *Sileſias*.

The

The French *Sileſia*, which is, beyond all compariſon, a lighter and pleaſanter, and even finer Cloth than ours of the ſame denomination, coſts 6 liv. 10 ſous, or 5s. and 5*d. per aune*, in Paris, and is $\frac{1}{2}$ of an aune in breadth; the Engliſh *Sileſia* coſts 6s. *per yard* in London, and is $\frac{3}{4}$ of a *yard* in breadth.

Purſuing the ſame kind of calculation that was adopted in the former inſtance, it will appear that there is contained in one aune of French Sileſia, which is ſold for 5s. and 5d. 634 $\frac{8}{9}$ more ſquare inches than is contained in the Engliſh yard, which is ſold for 6s.

It will appear farther, that the ſame number of ſquare inches of Engliſh Cloth which is contained in the French aune, if ſold at the Engliſh price, would coſt preciſely 9s. 10$\frac{3}{4}$d. and that the ſame quantity of ſquare inches of French Sileſia which is contained in one Engliſh yard, would, at the French price, coſt 3s. 3$\frac{3}{4}$d. that is to ſay, the French Sileſia is exactly 3s. 2$\frac{1}{2}$d. cheaper per Engliſh yard than Engliſh Sileſia.

The quality of the French is unqueſtionably ſuperior;—the price is little more than

half,

half, and yet an opinion is delusively diffused, and unwarily credited, That no injury of any kind is to be sustained to any departmant of our Woollen manufactures by the operation of Mr. Eden's Treaty.

I cannot, however, admit the supposition that there is so fixed a system of irrational credulity in my fellow-subjects, or so criminal a negligence in the Woollen manufacturers, both as to their country's interest and their own, as to think it possible after the above representation, unless the facts, on which it stands, can be subverted, that the one will continue to indulge, or that the other will persevere in a passive acquiescence, in so pernicious a misconception *.

THE TRADE WITH SPAIN.

The discussion of this part of the Tariff naturally leads us into an examination of what will be the probable operation of the Treaty upon our Commerce with Spain, the country

* The reader will find the general agrument on Woollens very intelligently stated, in a plain, but well-informed production, entitled *The Woollen Draper's Letter*, published by Debrett.

from

from whence, we need not inform the Reader who has followed us thus far in our Remarks, that ſpecies of Wool is imported, of which the whole of our ſuperfine Cloths are entirely fabricated.

The Trade between this country and Spain, unhappily for us, has been, for ſome years, moſt alarmingly on the decline. — The following is an eſtimate of its exports and imports in the years

1775,	1776,	1783	1784:
1,205,215 2 9	1,191,477 19 3	589,887 13 8	802,246 3 0
564,386 6 0	561,071 11 9	419,462 4 1	637,337 9 11
£. 640,928 16 9	630,406 7 6	170,425 9 7	164,908 13 1

To which is to be added the produce of the Fiſh trade from Newfoundland, which being in the number of what are called the enumerated articles, is exported from that Iſland without coming into the ports of Great Britain, and therefore is not included in the eſtimates of our Cuſtoms, and which in ſome years has amounted to 337,028 quintals. The price of this in the ports of Spain, incluſive only of their own duty upon importation, is 18*s. per* quintal, which will

leave a ſum of 303,327l. to be added with the reduction, as we have ſaid, of their internal duty, to the amount of our exports.

This diminution is to be accounted for from the combined influence of the following cauſes :—

1ſt. From the encreaſed faſhion of French and Portugal wines, which has leſſened the importation of thoſe of Spain into this country, in a compariſon between the year 1700 and 1785, in the proportion of more than five to one.

2d. From the operation of the regulation of 1782, which equalized the duty upon all foreign brandies from whereſoever imported. —Previous to this period, the brandies of Spain came into this country at a conſiderably lower duty than thoſe of France; but being inferior in quality, as well as being attended with a much heavier expence of freightage, they could not ſtand a competition, when placed on a footing of equalized duty, and are now in a ſtate of virtual prohibition.*

	3d. Per Ton. £. s. d.
* Before the year 1782 the cuſtom-houſe duty upon French brandy was - - - -	8 5 6
That upon Spaniſh - - - -	4 8 6

By

3d. From the participation and preference of France in their market for woollens, And 4thly, From the inſtitution of ſeveral manufactures in that article, in their own country.

This decreaſe is the more to be lamented, as our trade with Spain, both as to the imports and exports, was conducted on a footing the moſt advantageous which can poſſibly ſubſiſt between two diſtinct empires.—We took nothing from them but raw materials or articles of native produce; ſuch as their wines or brandies, upon which no labour could be employed.—They took from us various deſcriptions of our made-up articles, and even large quantities of their own raw materials returned to them in a ſtate of complete and finiſhed manufacture. — We had their wool, cochineal, indigo, and barilla, which we ſent back again to the country of their original produce in bales of cloth of different denominations. By a double operation of advantage, therefore, we made them pay the price of our labour, and had their market for the ſale of a Britiſh manufacture, the conſtituent materials

By an act paſſed in 1782, the cuſtom duty upon *all* brandy is 8l. 8s. per ton, which with the 5 *per cents.* is now 9l. 4s. 6d.

of which were produced in their own country. The balance of this trade, therefore, was always to the advantage of England; and the ſurplus, amounting generally to near a million annually, was conſtantly remitted to us in actual ſpecie.—To ſay nothing that the materials which are imported from them were ſuch as we could not poſſibly do without—ſome of which we could get no where elſe, and others from no other country except Portugal, in ſimilar perfection or with equal advantage; and all of which were ſo indiſpenſibly eſſential to us, that without them the whole of our ſtaple manufacture, our national trade of woollens, muſt have ſtagnated or ceaſed.

It is difficult to aſcertain, what may be the future revolutions in the taſte or character of a country.—It is not, therefore, out of the number of poſſible events, that Spain might herſelf become a great manufacturing kingdom, and might employ her own ſubjects in the working her own materials. But till ſuch a diſpoſition had began to prevail with them—till intereſt had inſpired induſtry, and till induſtry had been matured by experience, it is clear to demonſtration, that Spain was, of all the countries in Europe, that with whom it was

moſt

moſt particularly the advantage of England, and moſt preſſingly the duty of her Rulers to have cultivated an intercourſe, and to have cemented a friendſhip.

A very different policy, however, has evidently influenced the negociator of the preſent Treaty.—A ſinking trade demands to be protected and ſuſtained. It is much to be feared, and infinite will be the cauſe of regret, if the event ſhould turn out ſo to be, that the effect of this new ſyſtem can terminate only in giving the laſt blow of deciſive ruin, to a branch of commerce already weak and languiſhing, yet ſtill important and advantageous.

The brandies of Spain are already in a ſtate, as has been before ſaid, of virtual prohibition from this country.—Their wines, by the operation of the Treaty, will be pretty nearly in a ſimilar ſituation.—Even the circumſtance of a more prevailing degree of faſhion in the French wines, has been ſufficient to diminiſh the conſumption of thoſe of Spain, in the proportion of at leaſt five to one, in the courſe of little more than eighty years, as may be ſeen by the computation taken from the Inſpector-General's books at the Cuſtom-houſe.

Spaniſh

Spaniſh Wines imported into England from Chriſtmas 1699, to Chriſtmas 1701.

		Tons.	Hog.	Gall.
1699	—	11,701	3	60
1700	—	13,649	—	7
1701	—	11,184	2	17

Ditto imported into England from Chriſtmas 1783, to Chriſtmas 1785.

		Tons.	Hog.	Gall.
1783	—	2,149	1	23
1784	—	2,553	3	41
1785	—	2,534	1	34

At each of theſe periods, and during the whole of the interval which took place between them, the import duty upon Spaniſh wines was about 18 ſhillings *per ton* more than that upon the wines of Portugal; that is to ſay, ſomewhat *leſs than half* of that which exiſted upon the wines of France. If then, by the mere advantage of preferable quality, or more congenial taſte and flavour, the wines of France could occaſion ſo material a diminution in the conſumption of thoſe of Spain as has been proved above, is it auguring either raſhly or factiouſly

factiouſly to ſuppoſe, that when the duty upon the French wines ſhall become only one-half of what it was formerly, and the duty upon the wines of Spain ſhall remain the ſame, it will produce an almoſt entire abolition of the uſe of them ?—A ſmaller advantage, than this, when extended to French brandies by the act of the equalization of duties in the year 1782, totally deſtroyed the conſumption of Spaniſh brandies in this country. On what ground, then, either of general argument or analogy, can we poſſibly preſume that a ſimilar effect will not follow from a regulation, which, though not exactly of the ſame kind, is certainly more injurious to the importation of their wines.

If that event ſhould take place, and the wines of Spain ſhould ceaſe to be uſed in England, this then would be preciſely the ſituation of the commerce between the two countries. Every article and iota of it, both as to importation and exportation, will be totally and excluſively in favour of Great Britain. We ſhall receive nothing from them but what we cannot poſſibly do without, and they will continue to take from us without the moſt remote

pretenſions

pretenſions to a reciprocity, or the ſhadow of an inducement, what they can very well continue to import from other countries. Is it to be reconciled to any principle of common ſenſe, or any experience of the practice of States, to ſuppoſe that things ſhould remain long in ſuch a ſituation. They have a ſevere power of retaliation in their own hands, and will certainly have every motive for the exerciſe of it.

Indeed a review of the circumſtances under which we have enjoyed the free importation of the wool of Spain down to this time, will abundantly prove that ſhe has never granted us that indulgence without a ſufficient and adequate inducement, and that, therefore, ſhe is not likely to perſevere in ſo doing when that inducement no longer exiſts. The firſt commercial treaty of any extent that we had with that kingdom was executed in the year 1667, and is generally known by the name of Lord *Sandwich's* treaty, though principally negociated under the direction of Sir *W. Godolphin*, Secretary to the embaſſy. Sir W. was ſo conſcious of its importance to this country, that in his letter to the miniſter, containing the intimation of

its ratification, he thus expreſſes himſelf with an honeſt triumph : " The treaty of com-" merce, I dare promiſe your Lordſhip, com-" prehends not only all the privileges and ad-" vantages which this crown hath ever granted " to any other ſtate or people, but likewiſe " ſome conveniencies which it hath never yet " permitted to any other."—Alluding pointedly to the unimpeded exportation of the Spaniſh wool.—The ſervice performed by Sir William, in obtaining this advantage, was deemed of conſequence enough to incline the miniſtry three years afterwards, in 1670, to appoint him ambaſſador plenipotentiary to the court of Madrid, with a view of renewing this ſame treaty, for the value of it began to be very ſenſibly perceived—This was accordingly done.—Now it is to be obſerved, in the firſt place, upon this event, that at that time the manufacture of French woollens was entirely in its infancy, and therefore Spain had no market for that part of her produce in that country. Indeed no other vent exiſted for it in Europe at that period but England; and though the importation of it, therefore, was an evident advantage to us, it was hardly leſs ſo to her.—It is to be attended to alſo as a co-

operating motive for this indulgence, that our imports of her wine and brandy, were at that period immenſe. So far, therefore, her kindneſs was not without an adequate inducement.—The next revival of this treaty took place in the year 1713, the æra of the famous treaty of Utrecht, for even the deſpiſed and perſecuted negociators of that reprobated engagement were not either weak or wicked enough to conſign a participation of our trade to France, without taking care that a ſecurity for the importation of the material upon which our woollen manufacture totally depended, was firſt provided. The circumſtances, however, between England and Spain had not much changed, and, therefore, the ſame motives were applicable to this extenſion of her indulgence with reſpect to the wool, that were mentioned in the former inſtance.

The treaty of 1667 was again renewed in 1750 *. By this time, however, our importion of Spaniſh wines and brandy had very conſiderably diminiſhed; indeed between the years

* The three articles of the treaty of Utrecht, generally called explanatory, were revoked by Mr. Keen's treaty, and that of 1667, renewed in *toto*.

1740 and 1748 they had been much leſs than at preſent, and another market for her wool had began to preſent itſelf in France. She became conſcious, therefore, of the favour ſhe had ſhewn us, and determined to make an adequate advantage of it.—By the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, concluded the year before, we were in poſſeſſion of the Aſiento contract for Negroes, a miſerable traffick, of which we made a uſe perfectly congenial to the principle of the trade itſelf. It was highly important to Spain to get this contract out of our poſſeſſion, and ſhe ſent over a propoſition, in which ſhe agreed to allow us one hundred thouſand pounds in money, and as a farther inducement, to *renew* the *commercial treaty* of 1667, as a price for relinquiſhing the injurious intercourſe with her colonies.—The terms were accepted, and the treaty was accordingly ratified at Madrid, under the direction of Mr. *Keene*.—This is the laſt inſtance of any ſpecific or formal renovation of the treaty in queſtion, although it has been twice revived ſince by a ſweeping clauſe in each of the treaties of peace that have taken place ſubſequently.

It is as clear therefore as hiſtorical evidence can make it, that Spain never granted the free importation of her wool into this country, but under the influence of ſome equivalent advantage; either direct or collateral. Is ſhe likely to be equally indulgent to us in a ſtate of provocation and injury, as in a ſituation of reciprocal benefit and conciliation? Is there any one ſo weak in his devotion to the politics of Mr. Eden, as to admit a ſuppoſition ſo revolting to the underſtanding, and ſo repugnant to the known conduct of States?

If then, actuated by a natural and juſtifiable reſentment towards this country, inclined by the tie of family amity towards France, and urged by the reflection that ſhe has no longer an advantage in a commercial intercourſe with Great Britain, Spain ſhould impoſe a prohibition, or a prohibitory duty on the importation of her wool into England, what would be the conſequence?

It would require all the induſtry of Mr. Eden to make out the detail of ſo comprehenſive a miſchief, and much more than his judg

judgment or talents to produce a compenſation for it. It almoſt exceeds belief, and tranſcends perhaps all recorded precedent of inattention or incapacity, that a man ſhould make an alliance with a natural enemy, to the diſadvantage of a natural friend; that that friend ſhould be in the poſſeſſion of an article without which the perſon making ſuch alliance could not live nor ſubſiſt, and yet that he ſhould never ſolicit the poſſeſſion of it before the intention of his new engagement was openly announced, nor make any proviſion to deprecate a reſentment, the effects of which would be fatal to his neareſt intereſts, till he had given every provocation of the moſt pointed neglect, and ſupplied every motive of the moſt defencible recrimination, for the fulleſt and moſt unqualified exertion of it.

Such has been the conduct of Mr. Eden with reſpect to England, France, and Spain.—If the conſequence of his management be any thing leſs than the entire deſtruction of the manufacture of our fineſt and moſt valuable woollens, the Country muſt owe to accident or felicity what it has failed of ſe-

curing, by the intervention of his care and ſagacity.*

CAMBRICK.

The duties by the treaty impoſed upon French cambricks are another proof of the inattention of the Negociator to what has been the policy of this country in times paſt. Formerly, while they were allowed to be imported under a conſiderable duty, the manufacture was utterly unknown in Britain. Since the prohi-

* That the reader may judge of the nature of our imports from Spain, and how much they conſiſt in raw materials, I ſhall ſubjoin one year's imports from thence.

Spaniſh Wool	1,861,231	lbs.
Indigo	396,400	lbs.
Cochineal	147,845	lbs.
Cortex Peru	33,969	lbs.
Fruit	11,618,500	No.
Wine	2,534	Tons.
Raiſins	60,423	Cwt.

Our exports conſiſt entirely of woollen goods; pilchards, ſalmon, tin, butter, beef and pork from Ireland. Of Woollens alone England, in the year 1768, exported to Spain to the value of 952,438l. and in the year 1775 to that of 862,000l.

bitory

bitory act 18 Geo. II. c. 36. it has been by ſlow degrees increaſing in Scotland and in Ireland; and lately the progreſs it has made has been conſiderable. There were ſtamped for ſale, in Scotland, in the year 1783, 56,304 yards; in 1784, 83,438; in 1785, 106,755. Under the preſent duty, this riſing manufacture muſt be utterly ruined; whereas it might have been protected, and a conſiderable revenue ſecured, by laying higher import duties upon French cambricks, at the ſame time that they need not have been ſo high, as either to prevent the importation, or encourage ſmuggling.

As the manufacture of the inferior ſorts of cambrick is that which is moſt likely to ſucceed in Scotland, and as the chief view of France is to ſecure the market of England for her fine cambrics, the object of both countries would have been ſecured, by laying the duty in ſuch a manner as to exclude the coarſer, at the ſame time that it admitted the importation of the finer.

It has been ſuggeſted that a duty of 8 *s. per* demi-piece would effectually anſwer this purpoſe, have protected the Scotch and the Iriſh manufactures,

manufactures, and have afforded a conſidera-ble revenue to the public.

Though the linen manufacture of France is in ſo flouriſhing a ſtate as completely to ſupply both Spain and Portugal with the immenſe quantities of coarſe linens they conſume, yet it is not very probable, under the preſent duties, that either the Iriſh or the Britiſh linen manufacture have any thing to apprehend from the importation of French linen: though it may be probable that Britain, in future, will take from France conſiderable quantities of ſome ſorts of linen which ſhe now imports from the north of Europe; a circumſtance which conſiderably increaſes one of the worſt tendencies of the preſent treaty, the throwing all the commerce of England into one channel, and the diſobliging every nation with whom we now carry on trade, in order to encourage the manufactures of France.

There is at preſent in France a demand for ſome ſorts of Iriſh linen, and conſiderable quantities are now ſmuggled there. It might have been thought a fair advantage for our ſiſter kingdom, while we ruined her riſing manufacture of cambrics, that ſome ſort of advantage

tage ſhould have been ſtipulated in her favour for thoſe ſpecies of her linens which are in requeſt in France. All ſorts of Linens howevre are virtually prohibited going from Ireland to France by the treaty; for it is well known, that the Iriſh duties upon Dutch linens are in their nature prohibitory; and therefore, the duties upon Iriſh Linens going to France will be alſo prohibitory. And thus, by the terms of the treaty, while the Iriſh are taught to expect a benefit, the ſubſtance of the article is a mockery to them, and an excluſion to their ſtaple manufacture.

Having gone through the principal articles of the tariff, it is neceſſary to inform the reader of one objection which pervades the whole; which is, that although the duties impoſed upon articles carried from the one country to another, appear upon the face of them to be reciprocal in amount; and although French goods coming to Britain, and paying the import duty, are from that moment free from any farther charge whatſoever—yet the caſe is directly the reverſe with Britiſh goods going to France; which in many inſtances will have to pay additional duties to thoſe impoſed by the

tariff, and higher ones than similar goods of the manufacture of France.

When any commodity is imported into France, and pays a specific duty of *entré*, at whatever part of the kingdom it may be imported, this is called a *Droit uniforme*, the effect of which is to protect the goods from all internal duties, or, as they are called in France, *Droits du circulation*, till they arrive at the place of their original destination: but once arrived there, if they are again to be carried from one part of the kingdom to another, they become subject to all the different local duties which prevail in different parts of that great kingdom, and these duties are in almost every instance higher upon foreign, than upon French manufactures. Thus, if a bale of English woollens be sent from London to Lyons, the twelve per cent. paid at importation will protect it from all duties till it arrives at the place to which it is addressed. But if the merchant at Lyons has occasion to transport the same bale of goods to Aix or to Marseilles, it will become subject to fresh duties, considerably higher than a French bale of the same goods would pay.

These

These are shackles imposed upon the commerce of England to France, in which there is no reciprocity. If the French merchant misses his market in one place, he may move his goods to another, and so on through every town in Britain, without being subject to any duty or imposition whatsoever.

REVENUE.

I have now gone through the principal articles in the Tariff; and from the review of it, the reader will already have anticipated me in concluding, That there is scarcely a manufacture which is not endangered; an important foreign trade which is not placed in the hazard of ruin, nor many branches of the Revenue which can escape its destructive influence. It is difficult to calculate all the losses to the public purse from so complicated and extensive an innovation; all which, however, can be positively ascertained are alone such as I shall state here, and they will appear as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
Loſs of 50*l. per* ton on French wine - -	20,098	6	8
Loſs ⅓ preſent duty on Portugal wine - - -	161,404	18	2
Loſs of 2*s.* 6*d. per* gallon on Brandy imported - -	90,951	8	6
Loſs of 5*s. per* gallon on Rum	35,826	12	1
Loſs of 2*d. per* gallon on malt ſpirits - - -	26,128	3	2
£.	334,400	8	7

It has, indeed, been ſaid, that the duties eſtabliſhed by the Tariff will be ſufficiently productive to compenſate for this enormous loſs; but I have already proved that they cannot be productive in the articles in which the loſs ariſes without involving the ruin of the Portugal trade, and the deſtruction of the Weſt India planter, and Home Diſtillers, and giving riſe to conſequences, both to trade and revenue, far more extenſive than it is poſſible to form an eſtimate of, at this time. If the duties upon the other articles are to be productive, it can only reſult from the immenſe importation of French

French Woollens, Cottons, Hardware, Sadlery, or other manufactured articles which directly and immediately interfere with ſimilar articles of our own, and by ſo doing, affect every exciſeable commodity in the kingdom, to an extent far beyond what any port duty can make good.

SMUGGLING.

It has alſo been ſuggeſted that the duties eſtabliſhed by the Treaty will effectually put an end to the ſmuggling of foreign articles, and by that means produce a compenſation for all the apparent defalcation to the Revenue.—How far that expectation is likely to be realized by the event, it ſhall be my next ſubject to enquire.

The fact is, indeed, that it is not only from thoſe goods, which may be lawfully imported under the preſent Treaty, that the trade of England has reaſon to be alarmed; the eaſe and ſafety which it extends to ſmuggling, is ſufficient to render, almoſt nugatory, every ſecurity which the fair trader poſſeſſes, from prohibitions,

prohibitions, and every advantage which the revenue derives from high duties.

The prohibited articles of ſilks, gold and ſilver ſtuffs, lace of every ſort, are ſo ſmall in bulk and ſo valuable in themſelves, that if there was nothing more than an increaſed intercourſe between the two countries, the preventing their being ſmuggled in great quantities would be totally impracticable.—The only riſk of ſeizure is on the landing; becauſe, as ſimilar fabrics are produced by our own manufacturers, it is impoſſible for the officers of the revenue to diſtinguiſh the one from the other; and if a conſtant and conſiderable trade is carried on between the two countries, thoſe articles, in ſuch eſtimation with the rich and the faſhionable, will eaſily find their way amongſt us, to the ruin of our own manufactures, of the ſame ſpecies.

There are, however, in the Treaty, ſome regulations which totally annihilate moſt of our uſeful Laws againſt ſmuggling, and which more particularly militate againſt that act which Mr. Eden himſelf had a principal ſhare

ſhare in propoſing, and in procuring to be paſſed.

By the nineteenth Article of the preſent Treaty it is ſtipulated, That

The ſhips of either party being laden, ſailing along the coaſts of the other, and being forced by ſtorm into the havens or ports, or MAKING LAND THERE IN ANY OTHER MANNER WHATEVER, ſhall not be obliged to unlade their goods, or any part thereof, or to pay any duty, unleſs they, of their own accord, unlade their goods there, and ſell ſome part thereof.

By the tenth Article they are not to be ſubject to any forfeiture for any defect or omiſſion in the entries of their goods;— and by the twenty-fifth,

The ſhips belonging to the ſubjects and inhabitants of the reſpective kingdoms coming to any of the coaſts of either of them, but without being willing to enter into port, or being entered, yet not willing to land their cargoes or break bulk, ſhall not be obliged to give an account of their lading, unleſs they are ſuſpected, upon ſure evidence, of carrying prohibited goods, called contraband, to the enemies of either of the two high contracting parties.

How can any of theſe articles be carried into effect without a repeal of our preſent laws which have been found abſolutely neceſſary for the protection of the revenue?

By

By the 24th Geo. III. 47. every veſſel hovering, (that is not proceeding directly upon her voyage) and having on board any brandy in caſks under 60 gallons, or any other goods whatſoever ſubject to forfeiture, may be ſeized if found within four leagues of the coaſt.

And every veſſel of a particular conſtruction, which are ſuppoſed favourable to ſmuggling, are prohibited to be uſed by any Britiſh ſubject, unleſs by licence.

By other laws, every veſſel is obliged to make an entry of her cargo, if it be of a nature which is enterable; and it has been found neceſſary to enact, that they ſhould be ſubject to forfeiture, in caſe ſuch entry ſhould be found to be defective or erroneous.

It is ſelf-evident that, at leaſt ſo far as regards French ſhips, all theſe laws muſt be repealed.

In future they may make land in any manner they pleaſe.

They are not obliged to enter their cargoes.

They

They may come upon the coaſts, and either come into port or not, as they chuſe.

They are not obliged to give an account of their lading, except in the ſingle caſe of their being *ſuſpected upon ſure evidence* of carrying prohibited goods to the enemy.

And they may uſe veſſels of any conſtruction, however adapted to ſmuggling, and however prohibited to be uſed by Britiſh ſubjects. The deſcription in the twenty-fifth article, viz. of ſhips coming upon the coaſts without being willing to enter into port, is the preciſe and accurate definition of hovering, and is by the treaty permitted.

The alarming heighth to which ſmuggling has arrived, has made it neceſſary to enact, that the merely being within certain limits, with certain goods on board, ſhall be of itſelf a cauſe of forfeiture; but in future, as the cargoes are not permitted to be examined, a French ſmuggler, lying at the back of Dover harbour, laden with brandy in ſmall caſks, is not liable to be ſeized, unleſs taken in the very act of landing her cargo.

Can we entertain a doubt, that under ſuch circumſtances, the ſmuggling of not only ſuch articles as are prohibited, but of ſuch articles as are admiſſible under high duties, muſt increaſe to an enormous amount?—Our ſilk manufacture, which has been often injured by the clandeſtine importation of French ſilks, muſt be totally ruined; and the ſtipulated diminution of the duties upon brandy, can have but little effect in preventing its being ſmuggled.

The duty of 7*s.* *per* gallon is about 500 *per cent.* upon the prime coſt, which is about 1*s.* 4*d.* in France; and, under all the reſtrictions of hovering acts, and reſtraints of cuſtom-houſe laws, we have the authority of the Committee on Smuggling for ſaying, that it could be afforded upon the coaſts of Britain for 3*s.* *per* gallon. When ſuch a price left profit ſufficient to the ſmugglers, under all the riſks which he was formerly expoſed to, he will undoubtedly be able to ſell it ſtill cheaper, when thoſe impediments are removed; and whether the duty be 7*s.* or 9*s.* 6*d.* will make little difference, as there is ſtill a ſufficient profit to encourage him in the practice, and to ſecure him againſt riſks, which are now hardly to be conſidered as any longer dangerous.

In

In future, indeed, all the contraband trade will be carried on in French veſſels; for it is they only who will be free from all the reſtraints of the various laws we have mentioned.

There is another ſpecies of ſmuggling which has of late been much practiſed, and which alſo in future may be carried on with conſiderable advantage—I mean that of drawback and certificate goods.

If a French veſſel ſails from the Thames laden with goods, upon which ſhe ſecures the drawback, ſhe may ſail round the iſland, come upon the coaſt as ſhe pleaſes, is not liable even to be examined, and may ſettle her plans of operation with the ſmugglers on ſhore, till ſhe finds the convenient opportunity of landing her cargo; and is not ſeizable, except in the very act of ſmuggling.

Under theſe advantages, joined to the more extenſive communication between the two countries, it is utterly impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that the revenue can be at all productive in any article under high duties; or that any of thoſe manufactures which we have found it neceſſary to protect, either by prohibitions or by high duties, can continue even to exiſt.

Such is the foundation of the hope which has been ſo induſtriouſly encouraged, and ſo precipitately entertained, that all the future injuries to the revenue, and many more beſides thoſe immediately reſulting from this treaty, were to be made good by the entire extermination of ſmugglers from the borders of the empire.

DROIT D'AUBAINE.

It is not meant to be here contended, that this is one of thoſe Articles of the Treaty which tends equally with ſeveral others of it, to the radical ſubverſion of the national intereſts. In as much, however, as the nature of ſuch a regulation will permit the poſſible exiſtence of injury, ſo far preciſely it is the tendency of the preſent modification of it to encourage every diſadvantage.

I need not inform, but may be indulged in reminding the intelligent reader, that the *Droit D'Aubaine* is a privilege exiſting in France, by which the King of that country claims a right to all the perſonal property of an *alien* who ſhall die in his dominions. It will be much leſs neceſſary for me to obſerve to any perſon

perſon at all converſant in the laws or uſages of this country, that no privilege at all correſponding to the above, prevails in England.

If this right were rigidly carried into effect in France, it would be rather to be conſidered as an advantage than an injury to Great Britain, as in that caſe it would have the ſalutary operation of preventing emigration. If it were totally abrogated, as is recommended by Mr. *Neckar*, this conſolation (which though evidently inadequate, is the beſt which the circumſtances admit) would reſult from that arrangement of it. That an inhabitant of England who had taken up his reſidence in France, might enjoy the ſatisfaction at laſt, and his country the benefit, of reſtoring the whole of his property by his will to his heir, or other object of his preference in his native land.

The worſt poſſible ſituation in which this privilege can be placed, is that of doubt or ambiguity, and in that Mr. Eden has completely left it;—ſo left it, that every injury reſulting from the firſt hypotheſis I have laid down, remains in its full extent, while the benefit ſecured by the latter, is at beſt precarious

and

and doubtful. The temptation to emigration remains in full force, but the reſtoration of property is expoſed to the uncertain juſtice of a French Judge, deciding againſt the immediate intereſts of the French Monarch.

If it be ſaid that Mr. Eden has ſecured to the inhabitants of this country as complete an exemption from the operation of the *Droit D'Aubaine*, as was obtained under the Treaty of *Utrecht* in the year 1713, (an aſſertion which is by no means to be maintained, but which is not worth the detail of a regular refutation) let it be remembered, that events have taken place ſince that period, which ought to have made it peculiarly the duty of a negociator of the preſent day, to have demanded a plain, unambiguous, deciſive arrangement upon the ſubject.

I refer the reader to a narrative in my Appendix, which may prove intereſting to him as an event of modern politics not generally known, and cannot fail to have a deciſive influence upon his judgment, in convincing him of the abſolute neceſſity which exiſts for a clear and unequivocal underſtanding between the two countries, as to the operation of this celebrated privilege.

He will there perceive of what miſerable ſubterfuges the French tribunals will avail themſelves, when deciding upon the operation of engagemenis that militate againſt the immediate pecuniary intereſts of their ſovereign. If Mr. Eden knew of this inſtance, he was guilty of a total deſertion of his duty as a negociator, ſtipulating for the perſonal privileges of his countrymen, not to have inſiſted upon the entire removal of an ambiguity, which experience had proved ſo eſſentially to interfere with them;—if he did not, he was hardly ſufficiently ſkilled in the modern hiſtory between the two countries, for an advantageous execution of the important duty he had aſſumed.

CORPORATE RIGHTS.

It would be unpardonable in a general inveſtigation of this ſort, to omit a detailed mention of ſo alarming an innovation as that which is produced by the operation of this part of the Treaty. There are ſome men whoſe very conviction of the magnitude of the danger in this caſe, has inclined them to reſiſt an opinion of its being really deducible from

from the ſpirit of the Treaty itſelf; and there are others who are diſpoſed to diſmiſs the ſubject negligently, as being too immediately demonſtrative to require the formality of a regular enquiry.

Thoſe who conſider the extent of the injuries reſulting from this commercial ſyſtem as a preſumption in favour of the negociator of it, muſt think very highly of him indeed; and if I could be induced to look upon that as a defenſible ground of partiality, I ſhould unite cordially in their good opinion. This is a novelty in defence, however, which I am not entirely diſpoſed to acquieſce in; and am equally averſe to a careleſs reſignation of a great point, merely becauſe much ingenuity may not be demanded in the diſcuſſion of it. I would rather be expoſed to the imputation of tediouſneſs in the way of over ſolicitude, than be cenſured for a culpable neglect.

The Charter of the city of London, which was held of conſequence enough, to be expreſſly confirmed, even by Magna Charta itſelf, and afterwards by a particular act of the legiſlature (in 2. W. and M. c. 8.) has explicitly ſtipulated, That no perſon ſhall be permitted

mitted to expoſe Goods to Sale in Shops, as artiſts or retail dealers of any denomination except ſuch perſon ſhall firſt have been admitted a Freeman of the ſaid Corporation, by ſervice, birth-right, or redemption.

The preciſe terms, in which this invaluable privilege has been hitherto ſecured, are exactly theſe, "No perſon, not being a Freeman of London, ſhall keep any ſhop, or other place, to put to ſale, by retail, any goods, or wares, or uſe any handicraft trade for hire, gain, or ſale, within the city, upon penalty of forfeiting five pounds for every ſuch offence."

Let us then enquire, what are the new privileges, in direct violation of this ſacred compact, conferred upon the inhabitants of France, by the preſent Treaty. The following extract is copied from the

FIFTH ARTICLE.

"The ſubjects of each of their ſaid Majeſties may have leave and licence to come with their ſhips, as alſo with the merchandizes and goods on board the ſame, the trade and im-

portation whereof are not prohibited by the laws of either kingdom, and to enter into the countries, dominions, cities, ports, places, and rivers of either party, ſituated in Europe, to reſort thereto, and to remain and reſide there, without any limitation; *alſo to hire houſes*, or to lodge with other perſons, and to buy all lawful kinds of merchandizes, where they think fit, either from the firſt maker or the ſeller, or in any other manner, whether in the public market for the ſale of merchandizes, or in fairs, or wherever ſuch merchandizes are manufactured or ſold. They may likewiſe *depoſit and keep* in their magazines and warehouſes, *the merchandizes brought from other parts, and afterwards expoſe the ſame to ſale*, without being in any wiſe obliged, unleſs willingly and of their own accord, to bring the ſaid merchandizes to the marts and fairs. Neither are they to be burthened with any impoſitions or duties on account of the ſaid freedom of trade, or for any other cauſe whatſoever, except thoſe which are to be paid for their ſhips and merchandizes conformably to the regulations of the preſent Treaty, or thoſe to which the ſubjects of the two contracting parties ſhall themſelves be liable."

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Leſt, however, the privileges included in the above extract ſhould be ſuſpected of having been conveyed in terms of leſs clearneſs and preciſion, than ſuited the wiſhes and intereſts of at leaſt one of the contracting parties, Mr. Eden has conſented to go a ſtep further, and to confirm the inhabitants of the rival empire in the poſſeſſion of theſe new rights, in words as unambiguous as the effect of them is deſtructive and unconſtitutional. He adds, "and they ſhall have right to remove themſelves, as alſo their wives, children, and ſervants, together with their merchandizes, property, goods or effects, whether bought or imported, wherever they ſhall think fit, out of either kingdom, by land and by ſea, on the rivers and freſh water, after diſcharging the uſual duties, *any law, privilege, grant, immunities*, or *cuſtoms*, to the contrary thereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding."

Now, to what in the preceding paſſages, can the term *immunity* have any poſſible application? Not to the removal of the citizens, their wives, &c. becauſe that being hitherto a penal prohibition, would have been revoked by a repeal of the ſtatute enjoining it, and not by the grant of an *immunity*.

To what elſe, then, in theſe quoted paſſages can it extend?—To nothing, clearly, but to the privileges contained in the firſt extract, authoriſing the future eſtabliſhment of French ſhops in the metropolis; for nothing elſe is expreſſed in this part of the article, to which, by any conſtruction of ſenſe, or grammatical arrangement it can have the ſmalleſt reference. The fact indeed is, that in all legal acceptation, the term immunity ſignifies not the donation of a privilege, but ſpecifically the exemption from a cuſtom or duty; and in this ſignification it is accurately employed by Mr. Eden, when he informs us, as by the reſult of this article, we are to our coſt informed, that in diſregard of paſt uſage, in contempt of any pre-eſtabliſhed cuſtom, in defiance of exiſting charters, Frenchmen, from the date of the preſent treaty, are legitimate freemen of the city of London, without the labour of apprenticeſhip, or expence of purchaſe, and are entitled to a full and equal participation of their beſt and deareſt privileges.

It may perhaps be ſuggeſted to this, that in the conduct of a great ſtate meaſure, extenſive in its ſubject, and complex in its arrangement

rangement, a casual inaccuracy of expression, (for such, to be defended, this must be maintained to be) is not much to be insisted upon. How far this explanation will be accepted by Mr. Eden, a gentleman at least as conversant in the meaning of words, as experienced in the arts of political negociation, it is not for us to determine.—Whether he has a just right, however, to avail himself, even of this amicable subterfuge, will be best seen by an attention to the following consideration:

Mr. Eden, in the formation of the treaty of which we speak, and for the successful adjustment of which, he is to receive the future rewards of his country, has made it an almost undeviating principle with himself to transcribe accurately and implicitly from the Treaty of Utrecht, in the year 1713.—The question then arises, does the Treaty of Utrecht contain any clause of the kind and tendency now complained of?——Is there any thing in it that can have the effect of admitting French citizens into a full participation of the advantages and privileges of the citizens of London? To this we answer NO, not a word. Is there any thing in it on

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the contrary, that goes to the positive interdiction of any such participation? To this we answer YES; and that in terms as direct and intelligibly pointed to the preservation of British rights, as Mr. Eden's are strong and explicit in the violation of them. In the fifth article of the Treaty of Utrecht, which corresponds with the fifth article in the treaty of Mr. Eden, after having admitted, as is also done in the modern counterpart of it, that the subjects of the two countries may be reciprocally permitted to resort to the cities, ports, &c. of the respective kingdoms, and to lay up, and keep in their magazines, and warehouses, all kinds of lawful merchandizes, we find these express words, "on this condition, however, *that they shall not sell the same by retail in shops, or any where else.*" Can there be found in the English language, terms more direct, and unequivocal? Did Mr. Eden deviate then from so intelligible a precedent, by mere accident or inattention? Did he introduce words destructive to the very essence of his avowed original, and abrogatory of its most important prohibitions without a purpose or design? If there be a man so devoted to a blind and dangerous credulity, so abandoned

to the purpoſes of a particular party, as to believe this, we muſt reſign him to the quiet poſſeſſion of opinions, that are evidently not to be ſtirred by fact, or ſhaken by the plaineſt deductions of reaſon.

Two points in this extraordinary tranſaction are eſtabliſhed, beyond all power of controverſy. That by the terms of Mr. Eden's treaty, the boaſted excluſion claimed under the Chartered Rights of the City of London, is abrogated and deſtroyed.

That by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, which in all other caſes, he has copied with ſo ſervile, and obedient an accuracy, thoſe revered privileges are left, as every Engliſhman muſt wiſh them for ever to have remained, ſacred and ſecure.

We have two reaſons, therefore for believing, that the clauſe complained of, was voluntarily introduced, and deliberately intended to bear the interpretation now imputed to it. Firſt, That we find the actual terms of it calculated to convey no meaning at all; if not that, which we annex to it. Secondly, That

we

we find the expreſs, and ſpecific reverſe of this meaning in the acknowledged precedent from which it was tranſcribed, in every other part. By avoiding to adopt words, that were obtruded upon his obſervation, which he could not avoid attending to, and by which, (if adopted) the corporate rights of his countrymen would have been completely ſecured, we can be at no loſs to determine, what could be his real and deliberate intention, when he made uſe of language, the obvious meaning, and literal conſtruction of which, goes directly to the invaſion of thoſe ſame privileges.—Is it at all neceſſary to enlarge on ſo evident a principle? —In the whole progreſs and conduct of this Treaty, Mr. Eden had aſſumed one uniform line of proceeding, from which he has never ſubſtantially deviated; that where it was the intention of the parties to introduce the ſame regulation into the modern treaty which exiſted previouſly in that of Utrecht, he has not only adopted the regulation itſelf, but the words alſo in which it was conveyed. If it had been his intention then to imitate the virtuous rejection of this dangerous innovation, which he found in the precedent before him; why did he not, in conformity to his conſtant

uſage,

uſage, imitate alſo the terms in which that intention was expreſſed ?—But the reverſe of this was the new principle that he and his coadjutors in office meditated to eſtabliſh, and they have accordingly made uſe of language moſt clearly and unequivocally calculated to expreſs their meaning. Our judgments are equally ſatisfied in this caſe, from the words which Mr. Eden has avoided to uſe, and thoſe which he has uſed. We are equally convinced from both, that the real, true, and ſyſtematic purpoſe of himſelf, and the other members of the Cabinet, with whom he co-operated in the arrangement of this important negociation, was directly and unambiguouſly this :---" To admit all the ſubjects of France, without exception or diſtinction into a full, free, and indiſcriminate participation of all the privileges of the City of London, which have been hitherto deemed excluſively their own, under the claim and ſanction of their charter."

What has been ſaid of the charter of the city of London, is equally applicable to all the other corporate bodies in the kingdom.

To extend this conſideration a little further :

Though any Engliſhman may ſet up a ſhop in any town which is not a corporate town, yet, as the law now ſtands, no foreigner can do ſo. He may hire a houſe, it is true, but he is circumſcribed in the uſe to which he ſhall appropriate it—for habitation is the expreſs limitation put on it by Blackſtone, p. 372, vol. 1.—By 32 Hen. VIII. c. 16. § 13. No alien can take any ſhop, under a penalty of 5*l.*—nor can any one let a ſhop to an alien under the ſame penalty.

Thus, not only corporate bodies have been hitherto ſecured in the excluſive poſſeſſion of their internal trade, in the way of retail, by the operation of their particular charter; but by this ſtatute an equal privilege has been enjoyed by every other town in the kingdom.

It has been ſaid, that Blackſtone himſelf has expreſſed an opinion, that the ſtatute alluded to has been in effect ſuperceded by the regulations of poſterior laws.—This is an evident miſconception of his meaning—He ſays, indeed, that the 5th Eliz. c. 7. virtually repealed thoſe ſtatutes of Henry VIII. which prohibited alien artificers from working for themſelves, or otherwiſe than as ſervants to Engliſhmen,

Engliſhmen; but there is no pretence for ſaying that it repealed the penalties upon taking ſhops.

But what puts the matter out of all doubt is, that many actions have been brought upon that ſtatute, long ſince the ſtatute of Elizabeth, which are collected and abridged even in every Law Dictionary; and to them I refer the reader who may be deſirous of purſuing this important ſubject to its laſt ſtage of preciſion.

I ſhall only ſubjoin, by way of anticipated reply to thoſe who may be of opinion, that it cannot be the intention of the preſent treaty to diſſolve theſe corporate rights, becauſe they are ſo demonſtratively protected by the direct law of the land; that there is a ſweeping clauſe towards the concluſion of the treaty, which ſtipulates that the King of England ſhall endeavour to prevail with his Parliament to reſcind all ſuch laws as may impede the due execution of any of the agreements contained in it.—Some laws therefore were known to be infringed—and why not theſe among the number?—If it be ſuggeſted, that though all this be admitted, yet that the right

between the two countries is reciprocal, I ſhall leave it to the ſenſe and feeling of my fellow-citizens to determine, how far an obvious inducement to emigration is to be conſidered as an adequate compenſation for the participation of their retail market with the inhabitants of the rival kingdom.

The PRINCIPLE of FREE BOTTOMS making FREE GOODS.

The article contains the admiſſion of this long-reſiſted principle on the part of England; but as the fact is not attempted to be denied, that the right ſo frequently claimed by other powers, and ſo perſeveringly oppoſed by us, is now conceded fully and unequivocally, there is no particular neceſſity for quoting the expreſs words of the treaty, nor of arguing upon their conſtruction.

I feel myſelf relieved from all neceſſity of reſorting to any perſonal argument on this ſubject, by an appeal to the opinion of a writer, who, whatever may be his other claims to the favour or diſeſteem of his country, has unqueſtionably contended this point with equal information

formation and ability. I mean Mr. *Charles Jenkinſon*, who, in a pamphlet publiſhed by him, in the year 1757, entitled "A Diſcourſe on the Conduct of Great Britain, in Reſpect to Neutral Nations," has moſt completely eſtabliſhed the impolicy and injuſtice of this celebrated claim, and the almoſt unremitting pertinacity of Great Britain in refuſing the admiſſion of it.

I can advance nothing that would be in any degree either ſo entertaining or ſo inſtructing as *Mr. Jenkinſon's* authority, upon this ſubject, and therefore I ſhall quote a paſſage from his book, which appears to me to contain the moſt deciſive and unanſwerable objection to this part of the treaty.

"Let us now look on what has been ſaid; "the deduction which I have made, hath I "fear been tedious, but the importance of "the ſubject of force led me into it. I flatter "myſelf however that it has appeared, that "reaſon, authority, and practice, all join to "ſupport the cauſe I defend. By reaſon, I "have endeavoured to trace out thoſe princi- "ples on which this right of capture is ground-

" ed, and to give that weight to my own ſenti-
" ments, which of themſelves they would not
" deſerve, I had added the authorities of the
" ableſt writers on this ſubject; and laſtly, I
" have entered largely into the conduct of
" nations, that I might not only lay thereby a
" broader foundation for this right, but that I
" might the more fully illuſtrate, by the ex-
" travagant pretenſions of other ſtates in this
" reſpect, the preſent moderation of England;
" no age or country ever gave a greater extent
" to the commerce of neutral nations, and we
" have ſeen, that moſt in the ſame circum-
" ſtances have confined it within much nar-
" rower bounds.

" The liberty of navigation in fair con-
" ſtruction can mean no more than the right
" of carrying to any port unmoleſted, the pro-
" duce of one's own country or labour, and
" bringing back the emoluments of it. But
" can it be lawful, that you ſhould extend
" this right to my detriment, and when it
" was meant only for your advantage, that you
" ſhould exert it in the cauſe of my enemy?
" Each man hath a right to perform certain
" actions, but if the deſtruction of another
" ſhould follow from them, would not this be

" a juſt

" a juſt reaſon of reſtraint?—The rights of
" mankind admit of different degrees, and
" whenever two of theſe come into competi-
" tion, the loweſt in the ſcale muſt always
" give place to the higher.—But you will ſay,
" that you have a profit in doing this; if, how-
" ever, it is otherwiſe unjuſt, will that conſi-
" deration convert it into a right?—If you
" mean, that your own commerce ought to be
" free, that right is not in the leaſt denied
" you; but if under this diſguiſe you intend
" to convey freedom to the commerce of the
" enemy, what policy or what juſtice can re-
" quire it? What can neutral nations deſire
" more than to remain amidſt the ravages of
" war in the ſame happy circumſtances which
" the tranquility of peace would have afforded
" them? But can any right from hence ariſe
" that you ſhould take occaſion of the war
" itſelf to conſtitute a new ſpecies of traffick,
" which in peace you never enjoyed, and which
" the neceſſity of one party is obliged to grant
" you, to the detriment, perhaps the deſtruc-
" tion, of the other?—If this right was ad-
" mitted, it would become the intereſt of all
" commercial ſtates to promote diſſention
" among their neighbours; the quarrels of
" others would be a harveſt to themſelves,

" and

"and from the contentions of others they "would gather wealth and power."

Having at an eaſy expence ſatisfied the mind of my reader, of the danger and injuſtice attending the admiſſion of this right, (or if he retains a doubt on the ſubject, having no expedient for removing it nearly ſo efficacious as a reference to the equally irreſiſtable arguments contained in the whole of Mr. Jenkinſon's pamphlet) I find myſelf in fairneſs compelled to pauſe here, and to reſiſt with all the energy of truth, contending on the ſide of innocence, an obloquy which has gone abroad with reſpect to Mr. Jenkinſon, that he was the adviſer or fabricator of the preſent treaty.—This is amongſt the idle rumours which diſgrace political attachments.—Here you behold an inſtance where zeal outſtrips information, and where the regard for a party ſubdues the ſuperior obligation which belongs to candour. In theſe violences I have no ſympathy—let me avoid, therefore, the reproach of them.

Is it to be believed, that a man bearing a high lead in the political goverment of the ſtate in which he lives, claiming, and having received the diſtinguiſhed renumerations which a demo-

a democratic conſtitution laudably extends to preſumed virtue, or to atteſted induſtry, wherever found, or in whatever ſhape of original depreſſion they preſent themſelves, that he ſhould take a part in the formation of a great national contract; that he ſhould bind the country to which he owes ſuch obligation, to the adoption of principles which he himſelf has proved beyond controverſy, inequitable, and out of all queſtion injurious, and even vitally dangerous, is a ſuppoſition of monſtrous and unprecedented depravity, which will not be believed even of the torturous politics of Mr. Jenkinſon, but on much better authority than that which at preſent ſuſtains it.—Let the reader examine the preſent treaty, and conſult Mr. Jenkinſon's pamphlet, and then let him be aſked, if both be the fabrication of one hand, why the author of both was made a peer? Was it for uniform talents, or for conſiſtency of uniform principle?—My anſwer is, the whole report is a calumny, and that he was totally without any participation in the diſgraceful tranſaction of the preſent treaty.—Mr. J. proves farther, (to uſe his own words) "That the laws of France univerſally contra-"dict her treaties; and that it was wiſe in "her to eſtabliſh it as a general maxim of na-"tional law among other countries, and that

" experience had proved to her the uſe of it " in time of war." Let Engliſhmen think of this, and determine the propriety of Great Britain's eſtabliſhing this principle*.

It cannot but be apparent to the reader, that independent of the immediate diſadvantages which reſult from this treaty to diſtinct and ſpecific intereſts, there may be others which, though leſs practicable to be claſſed under any particular denomination, yet in their nature are not therefore of leſs conſequence to the community.—Of each of theſe I ſhall proceed to ſay a few words, with a brevity injurious to the importance of the ſubject, but demanded from me by the almoſt unavoidable length to which this diſcuſſion has already extended.

It is to be obſerved, then, that though it ſhould be admitted, in direct contradiction to the internal evidence of the caſe, that the preſent *ad valorem* duties are not in an *equal degree* a protection to the ſeveral branches of the mutual trade affected by the treaty, but that England is in a ſtate of decided advantage, reſulting from the ſuperiority of her ſkill, yet it is clear, that the moment (and no one can pretend that ſuch a period may not ſome time or another arrive) that France attains an equa-

* Vide the Collection of Treaties, publiſhed by Debrett.

lity

lity to us in the make of her manufactures, from that period there is an end to all pretence of reciprocity in the Treaty. Becauſe in all articles of manufacture both Countries will then ſtand in a ſituation of ſimilar advantage, and France will have the exportation of her wines and brandies into England, for which we have no articles of native produce to reciprocate a balance in return.

That our trade with Spain and Portugal was carried on ſolely in Britiſh ſhipping, which from the ſuperior cheapneſs of French freightage, cannot poſſibly in the very ſame articles, continue to be the caſe in future.

That even the ſmuggling between the two countries will be hereafter conducted in French veſſels, a circumſtance hitherto new and more miſchievous in its conſequences than ſome readers may be inclined to ſuppoſe it. There was this wretched ſolace even in the illegitimate traffick of this country, that if it injured the honeſt and direct trader, yet it involved in it a ſource of ſtrength to our marine, an advantage no longer probable to reſult from it, though the practice itſelf be likely to prevail to a much larger, and certainly not leſs injurious extent.

That we have chosen the hour of weakness and depression for the introduction of innovations, ruinous to the finance, and therefore alarming to the credit of the country,—at least dangerous to our commerce, and unascertainable as to the extent of their influence upon our general policy.

That we have totally deprived ourselves of the possible faculty of making a single friend of any sort of consequence amongst all the States of Europe, because by stipulating to extend every favourable concession to France, which we may agree to bestow upon any other power, we can retain nothing in our power to give, which it can be at all worth their while to accept.

That we have treated Ireland in this new system, in some instance with an illiberal and unsisterly neglect, and in others with an undistinguishing and reprehensible indulgence.—Sometimes she is used with the weak fondness of a spoilt child, and at others with unnatural rigour, as if she were an alien to our blood. We enable her to annihilate our manufactures of iron, which are essential to us, and comparatively indifferent to her, and absolutely shut up her exportation of linen which we cannot make,

make, and which is above all points of trade the which is not only moſt congenial to Ireland, but that in which ſhe moſt excels.

That the inhabitants of France are much more likely, from various cauſes not neceſſary here to enumerate, to incur large debts in England, than the inhabitants of this country in that.

That by the general conſtitution of the French Courts of Judicature, and by the particular embarraſſments reſulting from certain recent edicts, it is difficult almoſt to a degree of impracticability, for a foreigner of any denomination, to recover a debt there through the medium of any legal proceſs.

That by an *Arret*, the French King can diſſolve the obligations of juſtice, and not only releaſe his ſubjects from the neceſſity of paying their debts, but make it even penal ſo to do.

That the operations of the law of England are ſteady and uniform,—unyielding to influence,—unbending to authority,—not to be impeded even by the powerful temptation of political advantage, but diſpenſing equal juſtice to the ſubjects of all countries.

That

That if a war therefore ſhould take place between France and England, and ſurely it is not yet the faſhion to deprecate the poſſibility of ſuch a contingency, the former will have to aſſiſt them in the commencement of their hoſtility, the whole of that part of our capital which is inveſted in their hands, under the deſcription of debts, while England muſt diſcharge her demands to them to the uttermoſt exactneſs.

That in paſt wars with France and with Spain, our European commerce was but little interrupted, as we could ſtill ſupply the Portugueſe, and through their medium had the avenues preſerved to us to Spain.

That by the treaty of Friendly Alliance formed between France, Spain, and Portugal, ſo late as the year 1783, aided by the co-operation of the injuries offered to the latter power by the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty, Portugal is always likely in future to conſpire in the views of France, and to be a party in her hoſtilities.

That by this means, a war with France will not only involve in it a total annihilation of our invaluable trade with Spain and Portugal; but not leave us a ſingle port from the

the *Baltic* to *St. Helena*, in which our ſhipping can take refuge either from the enemy or from diſtreſs.

But, above all, let it adhere about the minds of Engliſhmen, and ſink deep in their hours of ſerious reflection, that after effect ſhall be given to the preſent treaty, almoſt the whole of our European commerce will be confined to ONE CHANNEL.—If a war ſhould ariſe, therefore, we ſhall have that to accompliſh in a moment of diſtraction, alarm, and confuſion, which is always difficult in times of the moſt compoſed tranquility, to diſcover new avenues for our trade, and new reſources for our revenue.

I promiſed to the reader on this part of my undertaking, that I ſhould not preſume ſo far on the liberality of a patience which I muſt already have expoſed to a ſufficient trial as to purſue the great ſubjects which I have here juſt touched upon, through all the detail of elaborate enquiry which ſo juſtly belongs to them—I ſhall leave it to the richer ſoil of his own mind, to mature theſe embryo ſketches to the ſize and vigour which, with the leaſt culture, they cannot fail to attain, content and

and happy, if, after much labour, much dry calculation, and much conſultation of unentertaining, but authentic and neceſſary document, I ſhall have ſucceeded in ſaving one branch of manufacture, or one point of the perſonal privileges of my countrymen from the devaſtation of a meaſure which I ſincerely look upon as uniting all the poſſible depravations of the human intellect,—as having been conceived in Madneſs, born in Folly, and ſent out into the world in Ignorance!

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Memorial of Charles Howard, (afterwards Duke of Norfolk,) Esq. of Greyſtock, and Miſs Frances Howard, of the family of Norfolk, in England; preſented to the Britiſh ambaſſador at Paris, concerning a claim of theirs to the effects of a relation who died in France. Tranſlated from the French.

MR. and Miſs Howard, and with them all the Engliſh nation, do, by the good offices of the ambaſſador, claim the execution of the XIIIth Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, and of the declaration of 1739, by both which the ſubjects of Great Britain are allowed to ſucceed to the perſonal eſtates of their relations deceaſed in France; in the ſame manner as the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian King are authoriſed to inherit the like eſtates of their relations dying in England.

Theſe laws have been executed in this particular, with the utmoſt exactneſs on the part of the Engliſh.

They can bring the moſt authentic proofs, and are are able to maintain by a number of examples, which have happened even during the late war, that this execution has been totally in favour of the French; inſomuch, that even when there was no preciſe law upon this point, the uſage alone, which was practiſed in England, was ſufficient to give this nation a right to exact from France a reciprocality which is founded on the right of nature and nations. It is by the favour of theſe different titles, that Mr. and Miſs Howard preſume to demand their part of a ſucceſſion to the perſonal eſtate of their uncle, who died in France: and yet the Judges of the Chatelet, before whom their claim was at firſt carried, have not judged proper to admit it; and their ſentence has been confirmed by an arret.

It was difficult to conceive what could be the motives for ſuch ſingular deciſions; eſpecially if it be conſidered, that the ſucceſſion in queſtion was open before the late war.

Mr.

Mr. and Miſs Howard were in England at the time they received the news, by a letter from their attorney. If they can believe this letter, the judges were determined againſt them for two powerful reaſons, which were propoſed by the King's advocate to the Chatelet: the one, that the treaty of Utrecht, on which they founded their claim, had not been regiſtered in parliament: the other, that the argument does not hold good, of the French being admitted to ſucceed to the perſonal eſtates of their relations who die in England; becauſe that admiſſion is not founded, ſay they, on the treaty of Utrecht, but on the conſtitution of that kingdom, which admits to that kind of ſucceſſion other foreigners, equally with French; whereas, according to the conſtitution of France, they cannot be allowed there but by virtue of a naturalization, or of a particular treaty, duly regiſtered.

Although this was ſufficiently refuted by the words of the treaty of Utrecht, and the declaration of 1739, which makes no diſtinction in the reputed quality of relations, according to which they ought to ſucceed; nevertheleſs, to ſet it more effectually aſide, the late Mr. Simon de Moſart, who was charged with

the defence of Mr. and Miſs Howard, thought proper to have it conſulted in England, in order to know what was the cuſtom there in this caſe. The caſe was at firſt ſtated in this manner:

If an Engliſhman born happens to die in England, without children, and inteſtate, and having relations born, and always reſiding in France, it is aſked, Will they be intitled to partake the ſucceſſion to the perſonal eſtate of the defunct, equally with his relations in the ſame degree of kindred, born and educated in England?

The anſwer given to this queſtion was conceived in the following manner:

The Council having conſidered, is of opinion, that in conſequence of the ſtatutes of diſtribution, the relations born in France have the ſame right to perſonal eſtates as thoſe born in England.

This anſwer not having entirely ſatisfied the French advocate, in that it only ſpoke of the Statute of Diſtribution, and not of the Treaty of Utrecht, the execution of which was the

principal

principal debate in this cauſe ; he reſumed the enquiry, and deſired that the Engliſh Council would give his opinion upon the following queſtion : it is aſked,

How do they in England underſtand and execute the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht ? and if, in conſequence of this treaty, a Frenchman living in France, could ſucceed to an Engliſhman, his relation, dying in England, being equally related with the Engliſh heirs of the deceaſed reſiding in England ? and what are the reaſons upon which the Engliſh ground their admiſſion of the Frenchman to ſucceed with the others ?

The following is the next anſwer, which was ſent from England.

The uſage of England is exactly agreeable to the XIIIth article of the treaty of Utrecht ; the French relations being admitted to ſucceed, equally with Engliſh relations in the ſame degree of kindred, to the perſonal eſtate of an inteſtate dying in England. The law of England does not, in this reſpect, make any diſtinction between foreigners and natural-born ſubjects, and is conformed to the conſti-

tution

tution of the Emperor Frederic II. tit. 1. ſect. 10. and is founded as well on natural juſtice, as commercial reaſons.

It is to be obſerved, that this clear and expreſs opinion is ſigned by the lord chief juſtice of England, by the King's advocate and attorney-general, and conſequently that it has all the marks of authority that any one can deſire in matters of this kind.

In ſhort, independently of the proofs which reſulted from theſe pieces, Mr. and Miſs Howard offered farther to juſtify, by the regiſters of the courts of juſtice in England, a crowd of examples of ſucceſſions of perſonal eſtates, which have been recovered by French people of their Engliſh relations. They cited, among others, that of Mrs. Cantillon, a French woman, actually reſiding at the Nouvelles Catholiques, in Paris, who having claimed, during the laſt war, the perſonal eſtate of Mr. John Cantillon, her nephew, who died in Ireland, in 1754, being a captain in one of his Britannic Majeſty's regiments, was put into poſſeſſion of the effects of this ſucceſſion, by the Court of Doctors Commons, to the prejudice of his other relations; and ſhe has re-

ceived, in conſequence, 650*l.* ſterling, and the remainder to be remitted to her immediately.

So many proofs accumulated, left no reſource for the pretended argument of incapacity, which they had at firſt oppoſed to Mr. and Miſs Howard: they waited patiently the ſucceſs of their demand, till they underſtood, with an extreme ſurpriſe, that it had been rejected by a ſentence of the Chatelet. And the affair being afterwards carried before Parliament, an arret was paſſed, which confirmed that ſentence.

THE END.

Errata in the following Pages.

Page 18—Inſtead of Cottons might have been ſent *to* this Country, read, *from* this Country.

P. 36—Inſtead of, it would have been idle in *her* to have aſked in *us*, and us to have granted, read, and in *us* to have granted, &c.

P. 45—Inſtead of, French Woollens, till lately laid under prohibitory duties, read, *were* till lately, &c.

P. 80—Inſtead of, ſhe has beſides many of Dying Drugs, read, many Dying Drugs.

P. 89—Inſtead of, to have ſatisfied the moſt ſyſtematic parliament, read, the moſt ſyſtematic cruelty.

P. 148—Inſtead of the —— Article contains, &c. read, the 20th Article contains, &c.

P. 73—From the ſame iron in the 8th line, add, for the French market.

P. 92—Inſtead of 25 per cent. read, 24.

P. 96—Makes a difference in price to markets, dele to markets.

P. 130—For ſmugglers, read, ſmuggler.

P. 124—For 5s. read, 5d.

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